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ABSTRACT

The Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) study identified, described, and verified features of bilingual instruction of a wide variety of limited English proficient (LEP) students. It collected data on instructional organization, time allocation, classroom language use, active teaching behaviors, academic learning time, student participation styles, and classroom, school, and community context variables through a variety of quantitative and qualitative procedures. This report consists of papers written by education researchers concerning the findings' compatibility with other research. They include: "Five Significant Bilingual Instructional Features: A Summary of Findings from Part I of the SBIF Descriptive Study" (William J. Tikunoff); "Active Teaching, Teacher Expectations, and Student Perceptions in Regular and Bilingual Settings" (Thomas L. Good); "Effective Language Use in Bilingual Classes" (Lily Wong Fillmore); "Second Language Acquisition in School Settings" (Christina Bratt Paulston); "Implications of the SBIF Descriptive Study for Teacher Education" (George M. Blanco); and "Functional Language Proficiency in Context: Classroom Participation as an Interactive Process" (James Cummins). (MSE)

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SIGNIFICANT
BILINGUAL
INSTRUCTIONAL
FEATURES
STUDY

COMPATIBILITY OF THE SBIF FEATURES WITH OTHER RESEARCH ON INSTRUCTION FOR LEP STUDENTS

William J. Tikunoff
Editor

Document SBIF-83-R.9/10
September 1983

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ABSTRACT

The Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) study was designed to identify, describe, and verify features of bilingual education important for the instruction of limited English proficient (LEP) students. This document represents one verification activity: the compatibility of the findings from Part I of the study with other research.

To determine the compatibility of the SBIF findings, five papers were commissioned from well-known education researchers for presentation at a one-day working meeting held in Washington, D.C., in February, 1983. These papers, together with a description of the Part I findings, constitute the bulk of this report.

The topics and the researchers who addressed them were:

1. Five Significant Bilingual Instructional Features: A Summary of Findings from Part I of the SBIF Descriptive Study by William J. Tikunoff;
2. Active Teaching, Teacher Expectations, and Student Perceptions in Regular and Bilingual Settings by Thomas L. Good;
3. Effective Language Use in Bilingual Classes by Lily Wong Fillmore;
4. Second Language Acquisition in School Settings by Christina Bratt Paulston;
5. Implications of the SBIF Descriptive Study for Teacher Education by George M. Blanco; and
6. Functional Language Proficiency in Context: Classroom Participation as an Interactive Process by James Cummins.

PREFACE

In October of 1980, the National Institute of Education (NIE) provided funding for the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (FWLERD) to form, in conjunction with eight other nationally prominent educational institutions and agencies, a consortium for the descriptive study of Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF). This is a three-year, multifaceted study of significant bilingual instructional practices and elements in bilingual instructional settings, and as such, it is part of the proposed work scope of the Part C Coordinating Committee on Bilingual Education Research (U.S. Department of Education). The intent is to provide important information that will increase understanding of bilingual instruction, and subsequently increase opportunities for students with limited or no proficiency in English to participate fully and successfully in the educational process.

The study was designed in two parts. Part I identified and described those features of bilingual instruction considered to be significant in terms of their consequences for limited English proficient (LEP) students. In Part II, these findings were verified in four major studies.

Part I of the study took place during the 1980-81 school year, and Part II occurred in 1981-82. Data analysis for Part I was accomplished by October of 1981. Part II data are undergoing analysis, and reporting will be completed by September of 1983, at which time the project terminates.

Overall Strategy of the Study

The SBIF descriptive study is one of several research activities guided by the Part C Research Agenda for Bilingual Education, in direct response to a Congressional mandate issued in 1978. In search of data to inform its consideration for renewal of support for bilingual education, Congress directed the Secretary of Education to "develop a national research program for bilingual education." In turn, the directors of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA) and the National Institute of Education (NIE) were instructed to coordinate a program of research to respond to Congress' questions.

Results from this study, along with those from other specially commissioned studies, are expected to provide Congress with information regarding instructional features that provide successful access to learning for LEP students, as well as the long-range consequences of these features. Furthermore, along with results from other studies conducted under the aegis of the Part C Research Agenda, findings from the SBIF study are expected to inform practice, thus resulting in their inclusion in instructional programs for LEP students.

Consortium Formed to Conduct the Study

The study was conducted by a consortium of nine educational institutions and agencies, collaborating with school districts that serve ethnolinguistically diverse student populations. Consortium members, participating school districts, and targeted ethnolinguistic populations included in both parts of the study were:

- ARC Associates, Inc., in collaboration with the Oakland and San Francisco school districts, California, focusing on students whose home language is one of the Chinese languages--Sau-Lim Tsang, principal investigator.
- Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, in collaboration with the San Francisco Unified School District, California, focusing on multilingual classrooms with students representing many home languages--Joaquin Armendariz, principal investigator.
- Florida State University, in collaboration with the Dade County Public Schools in Miami, Florida, focusing on Cuban and Cuban-American students whose home language is Spanish--Roger Kaufman, principal investigator.
- Hunter College of the City University of New York, in collaboration with Community School District 4, New York City, focusing on Puerto Rican students whose home language is Spanish--Jose A. Vazquez-Faria, principal investigator.
- Navajo Nation Division of Education in collaboration with schools serving the Navajo Nation in northeastern Arizona--Gail Goodman, principal investigator.
- Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, in collaboration with El Paso Public Schools, El Paso, Texas, focusing on Mexican and Mexican-American students whose home language is Spanish--Domingo Dominguez, principal investigator.

Consortium members and school districts participating in Part II only of the study were:

- CEMREL, Inc., in collaboration with the Chicago Public Schools, Illinois, focusing on classrooms in which the home language of many students is Spanish--Harriet Doss-Willis, principal investigator.

- Northwest Regional Education Laboratory, in collaboration with the Salem, Oregon, public schools, focusing on students whose home language is either Vietnamese or Spanish--Alfredo Aragon, principal investigator.

- University of Hawaii, in collaboration with the Hawaii Department of Education, focusing on Filipino students whose home language is Ilokano--Morris Lai, principal investigator.

Description of the Study

As stated earlier, the study was designed in two phases. Part I identified and described features of bilingual instruction considered to be significant in terms of their consequences for students of limited English proficiency. This part of the study involved 232 target students in 58 classrooms at six nationally representative sites. Part II of the study focused on verification of the features and consequences identified during Part I. This second phase of the study included 356 target students in 89 classrooms at eight sites. Both parts of the study are described below.

Part I of the Study

Although it was not required by the RFP, schools and classrooms identified as successful bilingual instructional settings served as the focus of the study. In its proposal, the consortium argued that significant bilingual instructional features are more likely to be found in such settings. Thus, the 58 classrooms in the Part I sample were nominated by constituents at their respective sites to be among the most successful bilingual instructional settings in the participating school districts.

In its first year, the study addressed research questions related to six sets of research constructs. These appear in Table i, along with questions addressed and data sources tapped for information.

While the majority of data sources for the study were contained within the classrooms, two additional sources of information were also considered important. Both were located outside the immediate vicinity of the classroom, although they impinge

Table i

Constructs, Research Questions, and Data Sources for Part I of the Study

CONSTRUCTS	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	DATA RESOURCES
Indicators of successful bilingual instructional settings	What features/criteria do various experts among bilingual education constituent groups use in determining that a bilingual instructional setting (school and classroom) is successful? Constituent groups are: bilingual education program directors, principals, teachers, parents, etc. Are success indicators similar or different based on client groups, ethnolinguistic composition of language minority student population, site, level of education (elementary/school, junior high school, senior high school), and school classroom?	Open ended interviews with representatives of various client groups at each of six proposed Part I sites. Bilingual education classroom evidencing success criteria
Macro-level context data	What is the school, community, bilingual education program, and family context within which each of the sample classrooms is nested? What, if any, similarities/differences in the macro-level context exists across sites and classrooms?	Open-ended interviews with school principals, parents, others, at the classroom site. Review of available documents and program plans. Informal observations in community. Project director and data collector knowledge of community
Organizational structure of the classroom	(For each activity structure dimension) what forms are utilized in classrooms in bilingual schooling settings? Do differences on one dimension, e.g., language of instruction, interact with/appear to be related to differences in other dimensions, e.g., student choice?	Narrative descriptions based on in-class observations. General descriptive data obtained during in-class observation.
Allocation of Time	How is time allocated in exemplary bilingual schooling settings by content area, language of instruction, student language characteristics, resources, and category of teaching-learning activity? Does allocation of time differ according to configuration of macro-context levels?	In-class observations using stop-watch and coding sheet.
Teacher Variables	Which, if any, active teaching behaviors do teachers in successful bilingual schooling settings use when teaching reading and math?	Active teaching observation instruments.
	What expectations do teachers in bilingual settings have for Language Minority Students and students who speak the majority language What, if any, similarities/differences in expectations occur across teachers based on teacher's mother tongue, years of teaching in a bilingual education program, professional development related to instruction of Language Minority Students? What sense of efficacy is expressed by teachers? Does efficacy appear to be related to teacher's mother tongue, etc.? (see above) In teacher's opinion, what is intent of instruction? Is intent similar/different depending upon student language, age, subject area?	Curriculum interviews.
	What patterns of interaction, in general, occur between teachers and students in bilingual schooling settings? What work activity and institutional demands are imposed by teachers in the classroom? Are these related to student's ethnolinguistic background, teacher's intent, sense of efficacy, expectations for students? What relationships exist, if any between teacher intent and what the teacher does during instruction?	Narrative description of teacher behavior.
Student Variables	What is the language proficiency in L1 and L2 of the Language Minority Students in each classroom, based on teacher ratings and other data sources?	Teacher ratings of language proficiency; other already available proficiency data.
	What is the Academic Learning Time of Language Minority Students in bilingual instructional settings, by classroom, site, and across site?	Academic Learning Time data. Descriptive narratives of student participation in the classroom.
	What social cognitive understandings do Language Minority Students express regarding instructional demands, teacher authority, distributive justice in application of classroom resources and specific work activity demands?	Social cognitive understanding interviews.
	How do Language Minority Students participate in classroom instructional activities? Is one style of participation more productive for some students than others? What, if any, relationships exist between the Language Minority Student's proficiency, ALT, participation style(s), and/or social cognitive understandings?	Narrative description of student behavior in the classroom. Participation style analysis.

upon and influence both instructional activites and their eventual impact or consequences for students of limited English proficiency. These are (a) what constituents of bilingual education--e.g., parents, teachers, students, administrators--consider indicators of success in bilingual instruction and what these mean for LEPs; and (b) what constitutes the macro-level context variables that further define and describe the school, district, and community in which the bilingual instructional settings in the study are located.

From January through June of the 1980-81 school year, classroom data for Part I of the study were collected. There were two levels of data collection activites. The first (Level 1) involved the collection of several kinds of data from the sample classrooms at each of the consortium sites. At the second (Level 2), one or two classrooms were studied intensively at each site in order to produce an ecological case study for each.

Level 1 data collection. For the 58 classrooms of the study sample, four sets of constructs were included in the Level 1 data collection. These were: (a) organizational structure of the classroom in terms of language of instruction, content (subject), work group size and composition, degree and nature of cooperation/collaboration among students, student choice options, nature and mode of teacher's evaluation of student work, and interdependency of these factors for work completion; (b) allocation of time by content, by language of instruction (L1 or L2) and by who is instructing (teacher or other adult), to use of instructional materials in L1 and L2, to LEP students and to others, and among different instructional activities; (c) teacher variables in terms of active teaching, teachers' expectations and sense of efficacy; and (d) student variables in terms of language proficiency, participation in classroom learning activities, academic achievement with emphasis on academic learning time for reading/language arts and mathematics instruction, and social cognitive understanding of students.

Level 2 data collection. The second level of the Part I study resulted in nine intensive, ecological case studies of bilingual instruction. These case studies were designed to obtain richer, more detailed information for nine of the classrooms included in the first level of data collection for Part I. The nine classrooms included two kindergarten classes, one first grade class, one combination grades one-two class, one second grade class, one combination grades two-three class, one combination grades three-four-five class, and two fifth grade classes.

Data were collected in the following sequence: (a) a teacher interview was conducted to determine instructional goals and how the classroom operates as an instructional-social system, as well as to describe a student who functions successfully in this system; (b) then, for each of three or four instructional events, (1) an interview was conducted with the teacher to determine the intent of instruction for that event; (2) observation of instruction followed, focusing concurrently on the teacher and on the four target students; (3) a debriefing interview was conducted with the teacher, to learn if instruction had proceeded as intended and if, in his/her opinion, target students had "learned" what was intended; and (4) debriefing interviews were conducted with target students to determine what they believed they were being asked to do, if they felt they had been successful at completing tasks and how they knew this, and their social cognitive understandings of how the classroom instructional-social system operates.

Table ii provides a list of documents and reports emerging from Part I of the SBIF study.

Part II of the Study

Information from Part I data analysis provided the basis for Part II of the study. Part II has been carried out during the second and third years of funding (1981-82 and 1982-83 school years). It is intended to verify the findings from Part I. The verification activities include:

- Verification of aspects of instruction identified in the Part I study classrooms in other ethnolinguistic bilingual instructional settings. To accomplish this, inquiry was focused on new classrooms added to the sample at three consortium sites (CEMREL, University of Hawaii, and Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory) as well as new classrooms at Part I sites (Study I-A/B).

- Stability of the instructional system and process across two academic years. To accomplish this, ten teachers from the Part I classrooms observed during the 1980-81 school year were studied with a new group of students in Part II during the 1981-82 school year (Study II-A). Stability in terms of LEP students' participation in bilingual instruction was also studied. In doing so, 86 students observed in Part I were followed into their new classrooms in the 1981-82 school year (Study II-B).

- Utility from both research and program improvement perspectives. To accomplish this, teachers from four of the Part I study classrooms were asked to select, from among the variety of significant bilingual instructional features identified in Part I, those they considered most useful in instructing LEP students (Study III).

Table ii

Research Documents and Reports for SBIF Study: Part I

Document/Report Number	Title
SBIF-80-D.1	Description of the Study
SBIF-80-D.2	Research Design: Part I of the SBIF Study
SBIF-80-D.1.1	Overview of the SBIF Study
SBIF-81-D.1.1	Review of the Literature for a Descriptive Study of Significant Bilingual Instructional Features
SBIF-81-D.3	Sample Description and Data Gathering Schedules: Part I of the SBIF Study
SBIF-81-R.4	Preliminary Analysis of Part I of the SBIF Study
SBIF-81-D.6	Criteria to Select Instructional Features and Consequences for Limited English Language Proficient Students for Part II of the SBIF Study
SBIF-81-D.7	Research Design: Part II of the SBIF Study
SBIF-81-D.7.1	Accommodation of the Seminar of Scholars' Recommendations for the Part II Research Design
SBIF-81-R.7	Executive Summary of Part I of the SBIF Study
SBIF-81-R.6-I	Volume I: Introduction and Overview of Part I of the Study
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-II	Volume II: Success Indicators and Consequences for Limited English Language Proficient Students in the SBIF Study
SBIF-81-R.2/ R.6-III.1	Volume III.1: Bilingual Instructional Perspectives: Organization of Bilingual Instruction in the Classrooms of the SBIF Study

Table ii (continued)

Research Documents and Reports for SBIF Study: Part I

Document/Report Number	Title
SBIF-81-R.3/ R.6-III.2	Volume III.2: Bilingual Instructional Perspectives: Allocation of Time in the Classrooms of the SBIF Study
SBIF-81-R.6-IV	Volume IV: Teaching in Successful Bilingual Instructional Settings
SBIF-81-R.6-V	Volume V: Consequences for Students in Successful Bilingual Instructional Settings
SBIF-81-R.6-I-A.1	Appendix A.1: Macro-level Context Report: Site 01
SBIF-81-R.6-I-A.2	Appendix A.2: Macro-level Context Report: Site 02
SBIF-81-R.6-I-A.3	Appendix A.3: Macro-level Context Report: Site 03
SBIF-81-R.6-I-A.4	Appendix A.4: Macro-level Context Report: Site 04
SBIF-81-R.6-I-A.5	Appendix A.5: Macro-level Context Report: Site 05
SBIF-81-R.6-I-A.6	Appendix A.6: Macro-level Context Report: Site 06
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-VI-B.1	Appendix B.1: An Ecological Case Study of Bilingual Instruction (English/Spanish) in Kindergarten: Site 01
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-VI-B.2	Appendix B.2: An Ecological Case Study of Bilingual Instruction (English/Spanish) in Combined Grades 1 & 2: Site 01
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-VI-B.3	Appendix B.3: An Ecological Case Study of Bilingual Instruction (English/Spanish) in Combined Grades 2 & 3: Site 02

Table ii (continued)

Research Documents and Reports for SBIF Study: Part I

Document/Report Number	Title
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-VI-B.4	Appendix B.4: An Ecological Case Study of Bilingual Instruction (English/Spanish) in Grade 2: Site 03
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-VI-B.5	Appendix B.5: An Ecological Case Study of Bilingual Instruction (English/Navajo) in Grade 1: Site 04
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-VI-B.6	Appendix B.6: An Ecological Case Study of Bilingual Instruction (English/Cantonese) in Grade 5: Site 05
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-VI-B.7	Appendix B.7: An Ecological Case Study of Bilingual Instruction (English/Cantonese) in Grade 5: Site 05
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-VI-B.8	Appendix B.8: An Ecological Case Study of Bilingual Instruction (English/Spanish) in Grade 1: Site 06
SBIF-81-R.5/ R.6-VI-B.9	Appendix B.9: An Ecological Case Study of Bilingual Instruction (English/Spanish) in Combined Grades 3, 4, & 5: Site 06
SBIF-81-R.6-C	Training Manual for Data Collection: SBIF Study
SBIF-81-R.8	State-of-the-Project Report: SBIF Study

- Compatibility of Part I findings with those of related research--e.g., research on teaching per se, bilingual education research, successful schools research, research in related academic disciplines, and other research sponsored by the Part C Coordinating Committee. To accomplish this, Part I findings were addressed by recognized researchers in the above areas. They prepared analytical papers comparing their data with Part I findings, these were the focus of a national working meeting held in February, 1983 (Study IV).

Table iii presents the list of reports associated with Part II of the SBIF study.

This volume represents one of the four SBIF study verification activities: the compatibility of the Part I findings with other research. The compatibility verification was carried out by commissioning papers from five education experts who presented their reports at a one-day compatibility meeting. The meeting was attended by bilingual education practitioners and policy developers, legislative representatives, and others interested in the SBIF study findings.

Table iii

Research Documents and Reports for SBIF Study: Part II

Document/Report Number	Title
SBIF-83-R.11	Site and Sample Descriptions SBIF Study: Part II
SBIF-83-R.12	Verification of Bilingual Instructional Features
SBIF-83-R.13	Stability of Instructional System and Process for a Sample of Ten Bilingual Teachers in the SBIF Study
SBIF-83-R.13.1	Stability of Instructional System and Process for a Sample of Eighty-Five Students in the SBIF Study
SBIF-83-R.15/16	Utility of the SBIF Features for the Instruction of LEP Students
SBIF-83-R.9/10	Compatibility of the SBIF Features with Other Research on Instruction for LEP Students
SBIF-83-R.14	Executive Summary: Part II of the SBIF Study

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The National Consortium for the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features Study would like to acknowledge the contributions of the thousands of students and hundreds of classroom teachers who participated in the study. The dedication of the staffs at the nine consortium sites and the sustained cooperation of district administrators and school principals were critical to the achievement of study goals. Approximately 100 data collectors representing five different language groups were involved in the fieldwork. The study was thoughtfully advised on research and policy issues by a Seminar of Scholars and a Policy Implications Advisory Panel. The talent, energy, and perseverance of all of these contributors is deeply appreciated.

During the analysis and reporting phases of the study, there was substantive and editorial input from a wide range of people. The Consortium is especially grateful for the many contributions of the site project directors: Migdalia Romero and Ana Maria Villegas (New York); Maria Masud and Alicia Rojas (Florida); Ana Macias (Texas); Gail Goodman (Arizona); Larry F. Guthrie, John Lum, and Kalei Inn (Oakland, California); Joaquin Armendariz and Christine Baker (San Francisco, California); Astacia Wright (Illinois); Felipe Paris (Oregon); and Milagros Gavieres (Hawaii). The Consortium also acknowledges the special contributions of Elsie Gee for her organizational ability, high energy, constructive criticism, and perseverance in the planning, conduct, and management of the study, Carolyn Arnold, Mark Phillips, and Christine Baker for data analysis, Becky McReynolds for a broad range of editorial work, and Raquel Castillo, Patricia Ferman, and Peter Grace for coordination of document production.

Table of Contents

Page

ABSTRACT iii

PREFACE v

ACKNOWLEDGMENT. xvii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE COMPATIBILITY REPORT. . 1

  Compatibility Study Topics 1
    Topic 1. Contributions of the SBIF Descriptive Study to Extending Our Understanding of Effective Instruction. 1
    Topic 2. Effective Instruction of LEP Students 2
    Topic 3. Second Language Acquisition in Schooling Settings 3
    Topic 4. Implications of Part I Findings for Teacher Evaluation. 3
    Topic 5. Student Functional Proficiency as an Indicator of Entry-level Skills for Monolingual-English Instruction 4

CHAPTER TWO: FIVE SIGNIFICANT BILINGUAL INSTRUCTIONAL FEATURES by William J. Tikunoff 5

  Overview of the Part I Findings. 6
    The Five SBIF Features. 8
  References 17

CHAPTER THREE: ACTIVE TEACHING, TEACHER EXPECTATIONS, AND STUDENT PERCEPTIONS IN REGULAR AND BILINGUAL SETTINGS by Thomas L. Good 19

  Active Teaching. 20
    Missouri Mathematics Program. 20
    Implications. 22
    Active Teaching in Bilingual Classrooms 23
    Theory and Missouri Mathematics Findings. 24
    The SBIF Findings and Instruction Theory. 26
  Teacher Expectations 28
    Explanations for Differential Teacher Behavior. . 29
    Student Passivity: Role Confusion. 31
    Teacher Expectations and SBIF Study Data. 32
  Student Perceptions. 33
    Perceptions of Teachers 33
    Perceptions of Ability. 34

Table of Contents (continued)

Page

Variation in Teacher Behavior and Student Mediation 35
Summary. 36
References 39

CHAPTER FOUR: EFFECTIVE LANGUAGE USE IN BILINGUAL CLASSES by Lily Wong Fillmore 43

Use of Two Languages for Instruction 43
Ways of Using Two Languages for Instruction. 46
Summary. 52
Appendix 55
Reference. 61

CHAPTER FIVE: SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN SCHOOL SETTINGS by Christina Bratt Paulston. 63

Objectives. 63
Methodology 64
Features and Issues. 65
Goals for Bilingual Education Programs. 65
Instruction and Teaching. 66
Competent Student Participation 67
Effective Instruction 71
Conclusions. 80
References 81

CHAPTER SIX: IMPLICATIONS OF THE SBIF DESCRIPTIVE STUDY FOR TEACHER EDUCATION by George M. Blanco. 89

Teacher Preparation for Monolingual English-Speaking Teachers 90
Language Training 91
Cultural Information. 93
Teacher Preparation for Bilingual Education Teachers 94
Language Training 94
Training in ESL Using an Integrative Approach . 97
Cultural Information. 99
Observational Training. 101
The SBIF Descriptive Study as a Resource. . . . 102
Teacher Trainers. 103
Summary. 104
References 107

CHAPTER SEVEN: FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY IN CONTEXT: CLASSROOM PARTICIPATION AS AN INTERACTIVE PROCESS by James Cummins. 109

The Policy Context 110
Theoretical Constructs 112

Table of Contents (continued)

Page

Principle One: The Linguistic Threshold. . . . 112
Principle Two: The Dimensions of Language Proficiency 113
Principle Three: The Common Underlying Proficiency 114
Principle Four: Second Language Acquisition. . 116
Evolution of Policy and Theory Related to Exit Criteria 118
English Language Proficiency as Conversation. . 118
The Academic Connection 119
Functional Language Proficiency and Competent Participation. 121
Proficiency and Instruction as Interactive Determinants of Classroom Participation . . . 123
Competent Participation and Academic Learning Time (ALT). 126
Conclusion 127
References 129

List of Tables and Figures

Table Page

i Constructs, Research Questions, and Data Sources for Part I of the Study. viii

ii Research Documents and Reports for SBIF Study: Part I. xi

iii Research Documents and Reports for SBIF Study: Part II xv

Figure
Page

1 A framework for bilingual instruction. 9

2 A framework for bilingual instruction. 27

3 Range of contextual support and degree of cognitive involvement in communicative activities. 113

4 The "dual-iceberg" representation of bilingual proficiency 114

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMPATIBILITY REPORT

One of the verification questions for Part II of the SBIF descriptive study concerned the compatibility of findings from Part I with those in the research of others. The question asked for the study was:

> Are the instructional features and consequences for LEP students found to be significant in Part I of the study compatible with more general research findings?

To answer this question, five papers were commissioned by well-known education researchers who were to compare Part I findings with their own research as well as the research of others. Paper topics were identified by the Consortium and focused on issues that emerged during Part I of the study. Each issue revolves around policy development considerations with respect to providing effective instructional services for LEP students, as well as adding to our understanding of effective instruction generally.

Papers were presented by their authors at a one-day preconference session at the annual meeting of the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) held 15 February 1983 in Washington, D.C. Approximately 75 persons attended the Compatibility Meeting, representing practitioners, policy developers, legislative representatives, and personnel from federal, state, and local education agencies. Following questions and general discussion at the meeting, final versions of the papers were prepared by authors and submitted for inclusion in this document.

The five major issued identified for paper topics are briefly discussed below.

Compatibility Study Topics

Topic 1. Contributions of the SBIF Descriptive Study to Extending Our Understanding of Effective Instruction

Findings from Part I describe how teachers in the sample delivered basic skills instruction for LEP students in addition to focusing on development of their English language skills. Although the SBIF study data dealt specifically with LEP students, findings from the study may be applicable to the study of effective instruction in general. The question for this topic was, "What do the findings from Part I of the SBIF descriptive study contribute to research and practice regarding effective instruction for all students?" Three areas of potential contributions are:

1. Identification of requirements for competent student participation in instruction. Research on teaching typically has focused on identifying teaching behavior that directly relates to desired student performance, usually measured on academic tests of achievement in reading and mathematics. Data from Part I, however, offer an alternative approach to studying effective instruction. In that LEP students come to school without proficiency in English, the study focused on what students had to do to obtain the necessary information to participate competently in instructional activity.

2. Mediation of instruction. Teachers in the Part I sample mediated instruction in three ways that were directly related to the learning ccharacteristics of their LEP students. Conceptually, mediation of instruction serves to differentiate instructional treatments for students with different learning characteristics. If so, then one can ask, "Do teachers differentiate instruction, using varying mediational strategies geared to the specific needs of the students?"

3. Congruence of teacher intent, organization and delivery of instruction, and intended student outcomes. To date, little research has focused on the linkage between (a) what a teacher intends to result from instruction, (b) how instruction is organized and delivered, and (c) whether or not students learned what was intended. One of the five SBIF features strongly suggests that effective instruction includes this dimension. If this is so, what are the resulting implications for further research on teaching and for translation into teacher education?

This topic was addressed by Thomas L. Good. Dr. Good is a professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction of the University of Missouri at Columbia. He is also a research associate at the Center for Research in Social Behavior at the University.

Topic 2: Effective Instruction of LEP Students

Two features identified in Part I as important for the instruction of LEP students were: the use of L1 and L2 for instruction, and the integration of English language development with basic skills instruction. The question for this topic was: What do these two features suggest for research and practice in the effective instruction of LEP students?

For instance: What is the desirable balance between uses of L1 and L2 for instruction, and under what contextual conditions? Which language for which subject area? Is there a degree of difference in uses of L1 and L2 for the instruction of younger vs. older students? Is the teacher's language proficiency an issue (as contrasted with being able to demonstrate effective communication in L1 during instruction)? If so, what is a reasonable measure of teachers' language proficiency for instructional purposes?

This topic was addressed by Lily Wong Fillmore. Dr. Wong Fillmore is an associate professor in the School of Education, University of California at Berkeley, and is principal investigator for another Department of Education bilingual education research project on language learning in bilingual classes.

Topic 3. Second Language Acquisition in Schooling Settings

The integrative approach of the Part I teachers to English language development and basic skills instruction raised questions concerning second language acquisition. This integrative method contrasted with the "isolative" or pull-out approach used frequently for ESL instruction. The use of two such different techniques encourages a discussion of appropriate instruction of LEP students to achieve English language proficiency. How much time should be spent in language development in comparison to other subject areas? In which languages (L1 only, or both L1 and L2)? Is there a difference among ethnolinguistic groups with relation to a focus on development of both L1 and L2? Can a stronger case be established for the integrative approach for language development vs. other approaches?

This topic was addressed by Christina Paulston, chairman of the Department of General Linguistics and co-director of the English Language Institute of the University of Pittsburgh.

Topic 4. Implications of Part I Findings for Teacher Education

The three ways in which teachers from the Part I sample mediated instruction for LEP students may have implications for teacher education. What does this information say about education of teachers of LEP students? Does a potential teacher of LEP students have to have L1 as his/her native language, or can this be acquired as an adult for instructional use? Even when a teacher is a native speaker of L1, is (s)he automatically effective in its use for instruction? If not, how can (s)he acquire L1 at a level useful for classroom instruction? If the integrative approach to second-language acquisition within schooling settings is an appropriate approach, how can the instructional skills of integrative language development be taught? Can we assume that a teacher from the L1 culture automatically will be sensitive to and appropriately use such information? If not, which of these cultural mediators can be taught? Are there some which cannot be taught? If so, what are the implications for teacher education in general?

This topic was addressed by George Blanco, associate professor of curriculum and instruction at the University of Texas at Austin. He has served as a foreign language consultant, as director of the Office of Bilingual Education for the University of Texas, and as director of a Title VII postdoctoral institute for bilingual education teacher trainers.

Topic 5: Student Functional Proficiency as an Indicator of Entry-level Skills for Monolingual-English Instruction

Historically, LEP students' achievement test scores in basic skills and/or English language proficiency have been used to assign them to or exit them from bilingual instructional programs. Part I findings suggest that other, in-class observational information also indexes an LEP student's ability to function in monolingual English instructional settings. Competent student participation has been labeled "functional proficiency" when a student is able to understand task demands and follow through on instructional assignments. If a student can function proficiently in a bilingual instructional setting when instruction is delivered primarily in English, is this a better predictor than achievement tests of successful participation later in a monolingual English instructional setting?

The concept of functional proficiency requires a definition that is rigorously specified in terms of student behavior and verified by information from other studies. For example, while we can describe various student participation characteristics during instruction, some of these seem to vary by ethnolinguistic groups of students. How do we accommodate these differences in light of the apparent common set of instructional and institutional task demands across classrooms of the sample? How do participation characteristics relate to Academic Learning Time (ALT); to obtaining and making use of instructional feedback; to giving accurate feedback to others? What determines functional proficiency for monolingual English students in monolingual English instructional settings, and are these similar for LEP students in bilingual instructional settings?

This topic was addressed by James Cummins, associate professor, Modern Language Centre, Department of Curriculum of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto, Canada.

CHAPTER TWO

FIVE SIGNIFICANT BILINGUAL INSTRUCTIONAL FEATURES

A Summary of Findings from Part I of the SBIF Descriptive Study

William J. Tikunoff

The plight of children who come to school speaking a language other than English always has posed a challenge for American educators. Because English is the medium of instruction in U.S. schools, limited English proficient (LEP) students are denied access to instruction until they can understand the language in which it is delivered. Thus their first task is to develop proficiency in the English language. At the same time, however, they are expected to progress academically at a normal rate for children of their age.

Instructional expectations for LEP students are twofold: (a) they are required to develop English language proficiency, and (b) they are expected to maintain normal progress in attaining academic skills. How best to accomplish these concurrent instructional objectives for LEP students has been the basis for considerable national debate, and is one of the questions posed by the Part C Research Agenda for Bilingual Education of the U.S. Department of Education in order to provide Congress with information regarding the educational needs of LEP students.

The Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) descriptive study was a Part C study funded through the National Institute of Education (NIE) beginning in 1980. The major goal of the study was to identify and describe instructional features that are significant in terms of positive instructional consequences for LEP students. To attain this goal, the Consortium which conducted the study was guided by the following rationale.

In the search for significant bilingual instructional features, it was posited that such features are more likely to be found in classes whose teachers are deemed to be among the most successful bilingual instructors. In a sense, the guiding strategy of the study was to locate places where bilingual instruction works and identify and describe how it works. This was accomplished in Part I of the study during the 1980-81 school year. In Part II, conducted during the 1981-82 school year, four questions of verification were pursued with respect to the verifiability, stability, utility, and compatibility of the Part I findings. This report concerns Part I findings only.

Persons representing different perspectives participated in nominating teachers considered to be among the most successful bilingual instructors at each of the Part I study sites. The resulting sample comprised 58 teachers and 232 target LEP students of varying ethnolinguistic backgrounds from Kindergarten through grade six at six nationally selected sites. They were observed during ten full days of basic skills instruction across several weeks early in 1981 using both quantitative and qualitative observational strategies.

A broad spectrum of bilingual education programs was found. Curriculum and program content, related instructional goals and objectives, and instructional materials varied widely. In addition, school district policies, educational philosophies, and teachers' theories differed with respect to the instructional approaches thought to be most appropriate for accomplishing the two concurrent instructional goals for LEP students, i.e., developing their English language proficiency while teaching them academic skills.

To be significant, an instructional feature had to meet four criteria. First, it had to be relevant in the research literature in terms of positive instructional consequences for LEP students. Second, it had to have occurred frequently and to a high degree in the Part I classes. Third, it must have been identified by teachers in the sample during their analysis of their own instruction as being significant for purposes of bilingual education and in terms of positive consequences for LEP students. Fourth, during analysis, features or clusters of features had to be associated with desirable consequences for LEP students.

While program variables did not meet the prespecified criteria for significance, five instructional features were identified that did. These features are particularly interesting for two reasons. First, all five features are teaching behaviors rather than curriculum or materials. Second, regardless of variation in programs, curriculum and materials, school district policies, philosophies of instruction, and ethnolinguistic groups, the teachers in the Part I sample exhibited all five features frequently and consistently.

Overview of the Part I Findings

The five instructional features identified in Part I as significant for the instruction of LEP students are described as follows.

1. Successful teachers of LEP students exhibit a congruence of instructional intent, organization and delivery of instruction, and student consequences. They specify task

outcomes and what students must do to accomplish tasks competently. In addition, they communicate (a) high expectations for LEP students in terms of learning, and (b) a sense of efficacy in terms of their own ability to teach.

2. Successful teachers of LEP students, like effective teachers generally, exhibit use of "active teaching" behaviors which have been found to be related to increased student performance on academic tests of achievement in reading and mathematics. These active teaching behaviors include (a) communicating clearly when giving directions, specifying tasks, and presenting new information--communication may involve such strategies as explaining, outlining, or demonstrating; (b) obtaining and maintaining students' engagement in instructional tasks by pacing instruction appropriatetly, promoting involvement, and communicating their expectations for students' success in completing instructional tasks; (c) monitoring students' progress and (d) providing immediate feedback whenever required regarding the students' success.

3. Successful teachers of LEP students mediate instruction for LEP students by the use of the students' native language (L1) and English (L2) for instruction, alternating between the two languages whenever necessary to ensure clarity of instruction for LEP students.

4. Successful teachers of LEP students mediate instruction for LEP students by the integration of English language development with basic skills instruction, focusing on LEP students acquiring English terms for concepts and lesson content even when L1 is used for a portion of the instruction.

5. Successful teachers of LEP students mediate instruction in a third way by the use of information from the LEP students' home culture. They (a) utilize cultural referents during instruction, (b) organize instruction to build upon participant structures from the LEP students' home culture, and (c) observe the values and norms of the LEP students' home culture even as the norms of the majority culture are being taught.

The importance of these bilingual instructional features can be demonstrated by their effect on LEP students' performance. One method used to index target students' success on instructional tasks was Academic Learning Time (ALT), an in-class measure that has been found to correlate positively with students' performance on academic tests of achievement in reading and mathematics (Fisher, Filby, Marliave, Cahen, Dishaw, Moore, & Berliner, 1978). ALT measures the amount of time a student is productively engaged in completing assigned tasks at a relatively high rate of accuracy. On the average, during Part I data collection, LEP target students were observed to be productively engaged for 82 percent of the time allocated to basic skills instruction, attaining high accuracy 80 percent of the time. That is, for every hour allocated to basic skills instruction, the target LEP students accumulated on the average about 40 minutes of ALT. Compared with ALT information collected for non-LEP elementary students in other studies, LEP students in this study accumulated a high amount of ALT.

Target LEP students observed in Part I exhibited three characteristics that attested to their competent participation in classroom instructional tasks. First, they were able to decode and understand task expectations and new information. Second, as a result, they were able to engage appropriately and productively in task completion. Third, they knew how to obtain feedback with respect to accomplishing instructional tasks.

A second method used to examine target students' participation in instruction was student participation style. Six major patterns of student participation identified in prior research (Ward, 1982) were used in the SBIF study to describe student responses to instructional demands. The Type I participator is a multi-task, successful student who does well, likes to work alone, seldom interrupts others, and seldom needs help but knows how to initiate interactions with others to obtain help when it is needed. The Type II participator is a social, successful student who enjoys frequent interaction with others while working, volunteers answers, willingly helps others, and initiates conversation with the teacher in order to obtain feedback. Type III is a dependent participator who needs frequent monitoring and feedback in order to accomplish instructional tasks accurately. Type IV is a solitary participator who chooses to work alone quietly and to remain anonymous, seldom volunteering or initiating interactions. Two deviant types of paticipators are the Type V isolate who is separated by others or who isolates himself, and the Type VI alienate who constantly disrupts and undermines instruction.

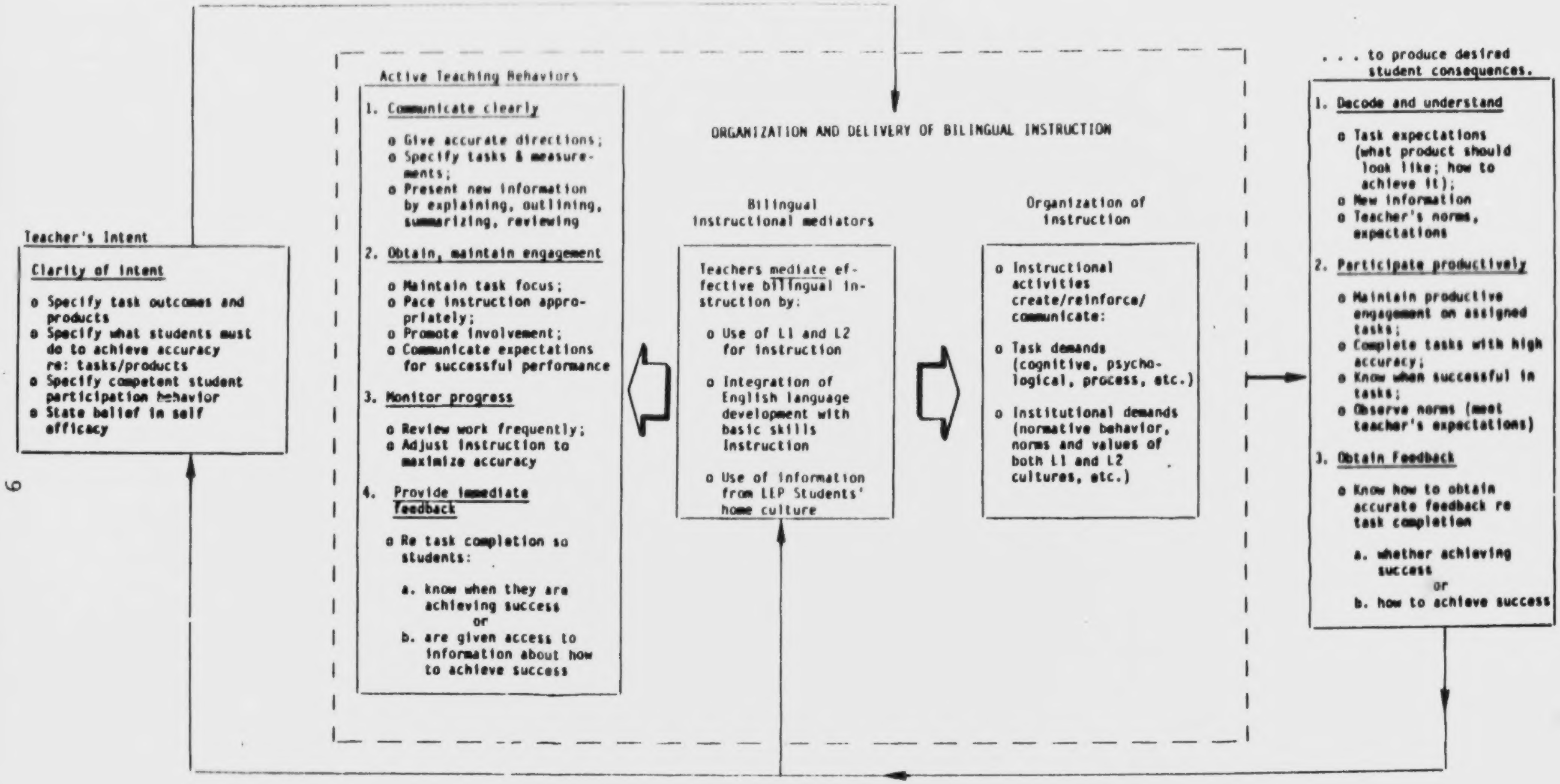
Most LEP target students were identified as the first four types of participators; very few fit the last two categories. Between late December 1980 and June 1981, the two periods when ratings were established for the target LEP students, those students who initially were categorized as less competent participators had become more competent.

The findings from Part I are synthesized and presented as "A Framework for Bilingual Istruction" (see Figure 1).

The Five SBIF Features

The remaining discussion will describe in more detail the five instructional features identified in Part I as significant for the instruction of LEP students. In that they were identified concurrently and appeared to interact, it is not possible to establish the importance of one feature over the others.

Figure 1. A framework for bilingual instruction.


Teacher's Intent
Clarity of Intent
o Specify task outcomes and products
o Specify what students must do to achieve accuracy re: tasks/products
o Specify competent student participation behavior
o State belief in self efficacy
Active Teaching Behaviors
1. Communicate clearly
o Give accurate directions;
o Specify tasks & measurements;
o Present new information by explaining, outlining, summarizing, reviewing
2. Obtain, maintain engagement
o Maintain task focus;
o Pace instruction appropriately;
o Promote involvement;
o Communicate expectations for successful performance
3. Monitor progress
o Review work frequently;
o Adjust instruction to maximize accuracy
4. Provide immediate feedback
o Re task completion so students:
a. know when they are achieving success
or
b. are given access to information about how to achieve success
ORGANIZATION AND DELIVERY OF BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION
Bilingual instructional mediators
Teachers mediate effective bilingual instruction by:
o Use of L1 and L2 for instruction
o Integration of English language development with basic skills instruction
o Use of information from LEP Students' home culture
Organization of instruction
o Instructional activities create/reinforce/communicate:
o Task demands (cognitive, psychological, process, etc.)
o Institutional demands (normative behavior, norms and values of both L1 and L2 cultures, etc.)
. . . to produce desired student consequences.
1. Decode and understand
o Task expectations (what product should look like; how to achieve it);
o New information
o Teacher's norms, expectations
2. Participate productively
o Maintain productive engagement on assigned tasks;
o Complete tasks with high accuracy;
o Know when successful in tasks;
o Observe norms (meet teacher's expectations)
3. Obtain Feedback
o Know how to obtain accurate feedback re task completion
a. whether achieving success
or
b. how to achieve success

Congruence of instructional intent, organization and delivery of instruction, and student consequences. Prior research on instruction has focused on teaching and learning behaviors during instruction and attempts to link these to instructional outcomes for students. This research informed the observational strategies used in Part I for data collection. In addition to observations, however, considerable data were collected in which teachers were interviewed to determine their underlying philosophies and theories with regard to instruction for LEP students.

In their interviews, teachers in the Part I sample clearly specified task outcomes, what students had to do to accomplish these tasks accurately, and how they had to participate in instructional activity in order to be perceived as competent. In addition, they frequently stated a belief in the ability of LEP students to learn and in their own ability to teach.

Intent of instruction and a high degree of teacher efficacy became evident in case studies of nine teachers during basic skills instruction which were conducted at several grade levels across the six Part I sites. For each of several lessons, the individual teacher was interviewed to establish clarity of intent of instruction for the lesson. Then actual instruction for the lesson was observed with multiple observers collecting data for the teacher and the four target LEP students. Following the lesson, the teacher was interviewed to learn if instructional expectations had been fulfilled, or if any event caused instruction to be adjusted. Students were interviewed to determine if they understood what they were supposed to do during instruction, if they thought they had accomplished assigned tasks accurately, and how they obtained feedback with respect to completing tasks successfully.

An analysis of data across the case studies revealed a clear linkage between (a) each teachers' ability to clearly specify the intent of instruction, and a belief that students could achieve accuracy in instructional tasks, (b) the degree to which the organization and delivery of instruction reflected this intent, and (c) the fidelity of student consequences with intended outcomes. In other words, teachers were able to describe clearly what instruction would entail, to operationalize their intent, and to produce the desired results in terms of student performance.

Use of active teaching. Successful teachers of LEP students in Part I of the study used four interactive instructional behaviors consistently. Target students in the sample classes accumulated relatively large amounts of Academic Learning Time. In that ALT is related to achievement in reading and mathematics, the presence of these behaviors, referred to as active teaching (after Good & Grouws, 1975, 1979), appears to indicate the presence of effective instruction. In this respect, the teachers of LEP students in the Part I sample appeared to exhibit characteristics of effective teaching in general.

The first active teaching behavior concerns the ability to communicate clearly, particularly with regard to specifying the outcomes of instructional tasks and how to achieve them. Giving directions accurately, specifying tasks and how students will know when they have completed them successfully, and presenting new information understandably are all central to insuring that students have access to instruction.

A second active teaching behavior is obtaining and maintaining students' engagement in instructional tasks. This requires considerable management of classroom activity: resolving potential disturbances, keeping students' attention from wandering, and pacing instruction appropriately. In addition, however, teachers must promote students' involvement in instruction, and communicate their belief that students can accomplish tasks successfully.

The third and fourth active teaching behaviors concern the regulation of students' accuracy in completing instructional tasks. Effective teachers monitor students' work frequently, and provide immediate feedback to ensure that students know when they are achieving accuracy or how to achieve it.

In that active teaching has been found to relate to high student performance on tests of academic achievement in reading and mathematics, use of these behaviors was important given the heavy emphasis on basic skills instruction in the Part I classes. For example, reading, language arts, and mathematics instruction accounted for 74 percent of the school day. Although these percentages varied across grade levels and across sites, reading and language arts accounted for slightly over half of each school day on the average, and mathematics for approximately 20 percent, leaving only 25 percent of the time for instruction in other subjects.

In addition to displaying these active teaching behaviors, the Part I teachers tailored instruction for LEP students by augmenting active teaching with three mediational strategies. These are described next.

Use of L1 and L2 for instruction. The language of classroom instruction is a special language. It requires understanding not only of new concepts and new information but of the rituals of classroom life, that is, how to participate competently in instructional activity. Effective teaching requires clear communication particularly with respect to giving instructions and feedback, while competent student participation in instructional activity requires decoding and understanding task demands and expectations, and obtaining feedback regarding accuracy on tasks. When the primary language for instruction is English, LEP students are at a decided disadvantage. In a sense, they are denied access to instruction unless some provision is made to ensure their understanding.

One way that teachers in the Part I sample mediated instruction to ensure LEP students' access to instruction was by using L1 some of the time. Athough language use varied across sites and across grade levels, English was used for instruction approximately 60 percent of the time, and L1 (or a combination of L1 and L2) approximately 35 percent of the time. While language alternation occurred more frequently at some sites than at others, teachers alternated languages when the situational context required it in order to achieve understanding. When teachers alternated languages, the content of the first statement in the "new" language was categorized as "instructional development" nearly 50 percent of the time, "procedures/directions" about 33 percent of the time, and "behavioral feedback to students" about 20 percent of the time. The first statement in the new language was directed to an individual student 50 percent of the time, to a small group 25 percent of the time, and to the entire class 25 percent of the time. Thus, when it was apparent that a LEP student or group of students was not understanding instruction in English, teachers in the Part I sample used L1 for clarity.

Some cautionary comments are necessary in interpreting this feature. First, language alternation as described here is not the same as what linguistics refer to as "code switching." Teachers in the Part I sample used L1 to repeat or paraphrase something which had been stated in L2. This was particularly true when the cognitive complexity of a lesson increased and LEP students did not know English terminology for lesson content.

Second, language alternation usually was spontaneous and unplanned. This is in contrast to a bilingual instructional method that advocates concurrent translation, wherein a statement or a portion of a planned lesson is first given in one language and then repeated as faithfully as possible in the second. Instead, language alternation apparently was in response to the context during a given lesson, and was used spontaneously whenever a teacher sensed that a LEP student was not understanding.

Integration of English language development with basic skills instruction. Students learn the language of instruction when engaged in classroom instructional tasks using that language. Such appeared to be the effect of the language development approach used by the teachers in the Part I sample. Even when students received formal instruction in English-as-a-Second Language (ESL), teachers also integrated English language development with regular basic skills instruction. For example, following lessons in which the teachers alternated between English and L1 to achieve understanding of a concept, the teachers would briefly drill the students on the new English terminology. This integrative approach to developing English language skills during on-going instruction in the regular classroom contrasts with the more traditional, pull-out procedures where LEP students leave the regular instructional setting to receive ESL instruction.

Use of information from the LEP students' home culture. Teachers in the Part I sample made use of their understanding of LEP students' home cultures to promote engagement in instructional tasks. This was the third important way in which instruction was mediated. Teachers' use of cultural information took linguistic as well as nonverbal forms and was exhibited in three ways: (a) in responding to or using L1 cultural referents to enhance instruction, (b) in organizing instructional activities to build upon ways in which LEP students participate in their own home cultures, and (c) in recognizing and honoring the values and norms of LEP students' home cultures while teaching those of the majority culture.

Responding to, using L1 cultural referents. "Cultural referents" in both verbal and nonverbal forms were used to communicate instructional and institutional demands. Teachers both initiated and responded to such referents. For example:

> Following a severe reprimand during which a teacher described her behavior as "grasping the boy's arm," the teacher said, gently, "Now, mijito, you know better than that." When asked to explain the possible meaning of this action on her part, the teacher stated that this term of endearment "took the sting out of the sanction," thereby saving face for the boy in from of his peers.

This example was in a class in which the LEP students' native language was Spanish. The term, "mijito," is derived from "hijo" (son) with the diminutive, "-ito," added. The result, "mijito," roughly translates into "my little son." Among Hispanics, the term conveys fondness and belongingness, and female teachers at the Hispanic sites frequently were observed to assume a maternal authority role in their classes, speaking to their students as they would do to their own children. This was particularly true in the classrooms of younger students, who responded positively. Similar examples of the use of L1 cultural referents exists in the data for the various ethnolinguistic groups included in the Part I student sample.

Organizing instruction to build upon rules of discourse from the L1 culture. In their homes, children learn the rules of L1 discourse. This allows them to participate socially with other members of the family. It is by virtue of this constant interaction with others in their environment, of course, that children learn. When a child is a member of a family from a minority culture, however, the rules of discourse may not transfer easily and be as useful for discourse in school. However, researchers have found that when the school environment accommodates the rules of discourse from the L1 culture, learning is more likely to occur naturally (Philips, 1972; Mehan, 1980).

Given that instruction in U.S. schools is in English, it follows that the rules of classroom discourse reflect those of the majority culture, communicated in the task and institutional demands that underlie classroom instruction. Because these majority culture rules of discourse frequently differ from those of the LEP students' culture, LEP students may be deterred from participating competently in instruction until the classroom rules of discourse are understood and mastered.

Teachers in the Part I sample mediated classroom rules of discourse for LEP students by observing and integrating the rules of discourse from the L1 culture into the way in which instructional activities were organized. For example, in Hispanic cultures older children are assigned the responsibility of caring for their younger siblings. This fosters cooperation as a mode for accomplishing home tasks. In classes in the Part I sample where Spanish was L1, teachers utilized this information by frequently structuring institutional demands into their instruction to which appropriate responses required working coorperatively with other students. Students were allowed to talk with each other as they worked, and to help each other with task completion.

Another example of using this mediational strategy is drawn from the Navajo classes of the Part I sample. Following Navajo cultural norms, boys and girls from the same tribal clan were not assigned to the same reading groups.

Many such examples of observing and incorporating L1 cultural rules of discourse into instruction were recorded. As might be expected, these varied from one ethnolinguistic group to another.

Observing values and norms of the L1 culture. In that classroom rules of discourse in U.S. schools are based on those of the majority culture, it follows that LEP students frequently are confronted with responding to classroom instructional demands that convey values and norms conflicting with those of their home culture.

Teachers in the Part I sample were concerned that LEP students understand and learn to observe the values and norms required to eventually participate competently in monolingual English instructional settings. At the same time, however, they were concerned that LEP students not perceive the values and norms of their own culture as "wrong."

This concern is depicted in the following event from a Part I class in which L1 was Cantonese. The teacher uses a value from the L1 culture, embarrassment from losing face, as a cultural referent to shape students' behavior as they prepare for a public performance.

> In preparing her class for a public performance before their parents, a teacher told her class that they must make a positive presentation of their behavior. "If parents see you laugh on stage, you will lose face," she admonished. "That's disastrous!" When students continued to act up, she added, "If you're laughed at, [then] I'll lose face!"

In these three ways, teachers in the Part I sample mediated instruction by using information from the L1 culture. Their success is reflected in their LEP students' ability to participate competently in instructional activity.

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CHAPTER THREE

ACTIVE TEACHING, TEACHER EXPECTATIONS, AND STUDENT PERCEPTIONS IN REGULAR AND BILINGUAL SETTINGS

Thomas L. Good

The purpose of this paper is to describe recent developments in classroom research and to illustrate how the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features descriptive study (SBIF) might inform the broader field of research on teaching. Since Tikunoff and Vazquez-Faria (1982) and Tikunoff (1983) have already summarized many of the findings and concepts of the study, I will not review basic conclusions. Rather, I will comment upon recent research on active teaching, teacher expectations, and student perceptions, and then suggest a few ways in which the SBIF findings may extend existing research traditions and concepts.

I discuss research on active teaching because it illustrates that individual teachers behave in different ways toward their classes (*across*-classroom variation) and that variations in teacher behavior can be related to student achievement. Studies of teacher expectations are reviewed because they illustrate that some teachers treat students *within* the same class in different ways and that in some cases this differential teacher behavior is inappropriate (e.g., providing some students with more opportunity and motivation than others). A brief discussion of recent research on student perceptions is also included in this paper because it seems that students' interpretations of teacher behavior are critical in determining how they respond to instructional opportunities. Active teaching, teacher expectations, and student perceptions are important issues in bilingual instruction and are areas that have been or could be examined with the SBIF descriptive study data.

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Active Teaching

In my opinion a major contribution to the research of the 1970's was a demonstration of the fact that teachers make an important difference in student learning in basic subjects. To some this claim seems only common sense; however, many have argued that teachers, and even schooling, make no substantial contribution to students' intellectual development. Recent research indicates that some teacher behaviors are associated with increased student achievement. However, these large-scale investigations have shown considerable variation in how teachers use instructional time. Concerning educational policy, it thus seems that the use of public funds to adequately train teachers is a wise and necessary investment if student achievement is to be enhanced.

It is beyond the purpose of this paper to describe the recent research on teacher effectiveness, but it is useful to illustrate the implications of these studies by briefly describing one program of research. For more details see Good, Grouws, and Ebmeier (1983).

Missouri Mathematics Program

About ten years ago, Doug Grouws and I became interested in trying to determine whether or not teachers made a difference in mathematics learning. We decided to study mathematics because we felt that it was an important part of the elementary school curriculum and that teacher effects would be more evident in mathematics than in subjects like reading. We wanted to avoid as much as possible subjects where teaching influence might be contaminated by home influences (e.g., most parents won't attempt to teach "new" mathematics).

The purpose of the original study was to determine whether it was possible to identify teachers who were consistent (across different groups of students) and relatively effective or ineffective, using student performance on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills as an operational criterion. In brief, results showed that high residual mean achievement scores were strongly associated with several teacher behaviors: (1) generally clear instruction and availability of information to students as needed (process feedback, in particular); (2) a nonevaluative and relaxed learning environment which was task focused; (3) higher achievement expectations (more homework, faster paced); and (4) classrooms which were relatively free of major behavioral disorders.

Teachers who obtained high student achievement test scores were active teachers. They gave meaningful and clear presentations of what was to be learned, provided developmental feedback when it was needed, structured a common seatwork assignment, and responded to individual students' needs for help. These teachers presented meaningful content, but they also seemed to listen to and learn from student responses (e.g., reteaching when student performance indicated the need). Effective teachers also encouraged students to participate actively and to initiate academic questions when appropriate. Indeed, these teachers were helping students to be active learners.

Elementary school experiments. We were pleased that some consistent differences between relatively effective and ineffective mathematics teachers could be found in correlational research. However, at that point we only had a description of how more and less effective teachers (in our sample) behaved differently. We did not know if teachers who did not teach the way more effective teachers did could change their behavior or whether students would benefit if teachers were trained to use new methods. To answer these questions, we developed a training program (combining information about how effective teachers behaved in the naturalistic study with other research findings) and conducted an experimental study to determine what effects the program would have on teacher behavior and student mathematics achievement.

In writing the training program, we characterized teaching as a system of instruction with the following features: (1) instructional activity is initiated and reviewed in the context of meaning; (2) students are prepared for each lesson stage to enhance involvement and to minimize errors; (3) the principles of distributed and successful practice are built into the program; (4) active teaching is demanded, especially in the developmental portion of the lesson (when the teacher explains a concept being studied, its importance, etc.).

Observers' records indicated that the experimental teachers implemented the program very well (with the exception of certain recommendations concerning how to conduct the developmental portion of the lesson). Pre- and post-testing with the SRA standardized achievement test indicated that after two and one-half months of the program, students in experimental classrooms scored five months higher than those in control classrooms. Results on a content test which attempted to more closely match the material that teachers were presenting than did the standardized tests also showed an advantage for experimental classes (for details, see Good, Grouws, & Ebmeier, 1983).

Pre- and post-testing on a ten-item attitude scale revealed that experimental students reported significantly more favorable attitudes at the end of the experiment than did control students. Also, it is important to note that anonymous feedback from teachers in the project indicated that they believed the program was practical and that they planned to continue using it in the future. Research elsewhere indicates that teachers have a favorable reaction to the program, even when it is presented and discussed without the involvement of the developers (Keziah, 1980; Andros & Freeman, 1981).

However, it is important to qualify these findings. Although our results suggested that the treatment generally worked (i.e., the means in each cell were in favor of the treatment group), the program was more beneficial for certain combinations of teachers and students than for others. The data collectively indicated that teachers who implemented the model got good results, yet some teachers used more facets of the program than did other teachers (see Ebmeier & Good, 1979, for details).

Secondary school experiment. Considering the relatively successful results of experimental work at the elementary school level, we were very much interested in expanding our inquiry to secondary classrooms. Our research at the secondary level involved a strong control for Hawthorne effects (as did the elementary school work), and our findings again indicated that some teachers implemented the program more fully than others. Among many findings was the following: the average implementation score correlated significantly with students' problem-solving achievement scores. Finally, students' performance in verbal problem-solving in both partnership (teachers helped to modify the program) and treatment classrooms was superior to problem-solving performance in control classrooms, although students' general computational achievement was not affected by project participation.

Summary of research findings. Our research on mathematics instruction, especially at the elementary school level, has convinced us that teachers do make a difference in student learning, and that inservice teachers can be trained to teach so that they increase student performance. The system of instruction that we believe is important can be broadly characterized as active teaching. Active teachers present concepts, explain the meanings of those concepts, provide appropriate practice activities, and monitor those activities prior to assigning seatwork. The fact that these teachers appear to look for ways to confirm or disconfirm that their presentations have been comprehended by students is particularly important. They assume partial responsibility for student learning and appear to be ready to reteach when necessary.

Implications

Research on teacher effectiveness has not yielded specific guidelines about how to teach, but it has provided clear evidence that teachers can and do make a difference.

Many recent articles advocate increasing the *quantity* of teaching (more time for basic skills instruction, more "time-on-task"). However, a more important implication of recent research is that the *quality* of teaching needs attention. The initial naturalistic study of more and less effective mathematics teachers indicated that effective teachers were distinguished by *how* they taught, not by the amount of time they spent on mathematics. Teachers who obtained higher gains made better use of time and obtained more student involvement, but they also maintained a good balance between theory and practice (conceptualization, application, and drill).

I prefer the concept of active teaching rather than the term "direct instruction" (which has been used to describe the pattern of behavior of teachers who obtain higher-than-expected achievement from students), because it connotes a broader definition of teaching than does the existing research base. In active teaching, the initial style can be inductive or deductive, and student learning can be self-initiated or teacher-initiated (especially if thorough critiques and syntheses follow student learning attempts). Active teaching also connotes a broader philosophical base (active teaching can occur in classrooms using a variety of classroom organizational structures) and should become somewhat less direct as students mature and instructional goals are more related to affective and process outcomes. Also, active teaching techniques can be applied in both teacher-led instruction as well as in student-team learning instruction. Active teaching is an important construct for describing teaching. With the apparent growing pressure for teachers to function as classroom managers rather than as instructors, teacher education programs should devote increased time to helping teachers understand active teaching.

Others also advocate more attention to active teaching, including instruction which encourages student problem-solving and critical thinking. For example, Durkin (1978-79) argues that comprehension skills are insufficiently emphasized in reading instruction and that some educators believe that these skills cannot be taught. Such low expectations can obviously be self-fulfilling. Duffy and McIntyre (1982) note the unfortunate and unproductive tendencies of teachers to equate teaching with providing opportunities for practice. Current research suggests that more effective teachers take the time to explain concepts and to assess students' comprehension of materials assigned to them *before* extended practice is required.

Active Teaching in Bilingual Classrooms

Interestingly, despite the fact that the immediate specific purposes and the population of bilingual classrooms differ from those of regular classrooms, Tikunoff and Vazquez-Faria

(1982) and Tikunoff (1983) have found that effective teachers in bilingual classrooms behave in ways that are similar to those of effective teachers in regular classrooms. Thus, one initial and significant contribution of the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features descriptive study is the extension of the construct of active teaching to another population. Clearly, teachers who were successful in the bilingual classrooms studied by Tikunoff et al. were behaving in ways consistent with the active teaching model. As a result, LEP students were found to be attentive and performing assigned work successfully as well as becoming more competent and active classroom participants. These teachers were systematically developing instruction in ways that emphasize teachers' attention to the concepts being developed as well as to students' immediate performance levels.

This extension of empirical findings to another population and to other content areas suggests that the concept of active teaching may be a robust one that is appropriate to a number of general teaching situations (but certainly not to all . . . for a discussion of limitations of the active teaching construct see Good, Grouws, & Ebmeier, 1983). Although certain scholars (e.g., Blanco, 1977; Paulston, 1977) have argued that what constitutes successful instruction in a monolingual setting should apply to bilingual settings as well, many scholars have conceptualized bilingual instruction as calling for unique instruction and/or curriculum. Thus, it seems important to establish that certain general aspects of teaching appear to have positive effects in both regular and bilingual classes.

Theory and Missouri Mathematics Findings

Although it is interesting and important to note that certain variations in teaching behavior can be related to student achievement, an equally compelling question is *why* do these *general* teacher behaviors relate to student achievement. Elsewhere we have attempted to explain why we obtained the results we did in the Missouri Mathematics Program (Good, Grouws, & Ebmeier, 1983), and this thinking follows.

We have evidence that the Missouri Mathematics Program in general had a positive impact upon the *mean* performance of students in experimental classrooms, but we have no data to explain why the program worked. The program was probably effective because many elementary school teachers simply do not emphasize the meaning of the mathematics concepts they present and do not actively teach these concepts. Too much mathematics instruction in elementary schools involves a brief teacher presentation followed by a long period of seatwork. Brief explanations of seatwork do not allow for meaningful and successful practice of concepts that have been taught, and the conditions necessary for students to discover or use principles on their own are also lacking.

It seems plausible that the emphasis in our program upon development leads teachers to think more deeply about the concepts that they present and to search for better ways of presenting those concepts to students. Furthermore, because of the way in which development is conducted, teachers can detect students' errors before they have a chance to practice those mistakes for a long period of time. This feature of the program seems to be especially desirable, because some research indicates that it is very difficult for students to tell teachers that they do not understand instruction. A clear, extended development lesson helps students to understand more fully the concepts that they must master and how those concepts are related to others they have learned. Development thus gives both teachers and students a better rationale for learning activities and a sense of the continuity of mathematics concepts.

The controlled practice portion of the lesson enables teachers and students to determine whether basic concepts and mechanics are being understood. Students of teachers who expect that initial teaching will often result in less than adequate student comprehension and believe that student mistakes call for reteaching, not rationalization, will benefit most from controlled practice. The information such teachers gain during this lesson phase allows them to correct and to reteach aspects of the lesson so that students develop appropriate conceptual understandings and skills prior to practice. Furthermore, students should be much more active thinkers during the development and controlled practice portions of the lesson because they know that successful completion of seatwork and homework are dependent on their comprehension of material presented during development. Checking of seatwork allows teachers one final opportunity to correct misunderstandings prior to the assignment of homework. Following successful practice, brief homework assignments should offer students positive learning experiences that both provide for better integration of material and the development of more appropriate attitudes about mathematics and their ability to learn it. In particular, students will probably conclude that increased personal effort during mathematics instruction leads to positive feedback to teachers about mathematics instruction (e.g., handing in completed homework and exhibiting positive verbal and nonverbal behaviors during mathematics instruction) which in turn increase teachers' beliefs that they can present mathematics effectively. Such belief leads to renewed efforts on their part to carefully structure mathematics instruction.

Future research. It is important to note that the preceding hypotheses need to be tested if we are to develop a more adequate understanding of the antecedent conditions necessary for successful mathematics learning. For example, research is needed to determine if in fact teachers who use the program identify more student errors and can more readily understand those mistakes during the development portion of the lesson than teachers who use different teaching techniques. It would be equally important to assess whether students in experimental classrooms are more active thinkers during the development portion of the lesson than students in control classrooms (perhaps by asking students to do problems immediately after the development portion of the lesson). More study of the conditions under which student errors are developmentally helpful and lead to increased student effort to integrate material, rather than debilitating and convincing students that they do not understand mathematics, would be useful. When researchers begin to examine the assumptions on which studies of teaching effectiveness are based by stating and testing the specific ways in wich student learning is influenced, the conditions under which teaching and learning strategies are useful will become clearer than they are at present.

The SBIF Findings and Instruction Theory

Figure 2 (from Tikunoff, 1983) shows that the explanation of active teaching found in Part I of the SBIF descriptive study is similar to my explanation concerning why the Missouri Mathematics Program works. Researchers should next examine existing SBIF data in order to build a theoretical explanation of why the form of teaching characterized in Figure 2 is effective. Then they should determine the overlap between the "theory" of successful bilingual classrooms and the "theory" of active teaching or other teacher effectiveness studies.

Obviously, researchers have spent a great deal of time descriptively analyzing the data, which suggest that instructional techniques that "work" in bilingual classrooms can be identified. These findings are important for persons who plan instruction in, or evaluate, bilingual classrooms. However, we need to know more about why certain procedures are necessary if some students are to achieve (or to become more self-confident or more active participants). It is probable that certain (aspects of) classroom processes suggested by Figure 2 are not needed by all students for all types of learning and at all times of the year (e.g., do some "independent" students need immediate information about their performance on routine tasks in May?).

To reiterate, the information and concepts gained from the SBIF descriptive study condensed in Figure 2 provide a comprehensive description of successful instruction in bilingual classrooms. As the study researchers provide more systematic details of their findings (e.g., what are the various ways teachers can provide effective but immediate feedback), the usefulness of their findings for practice will improve. Likewise, explanations of their findings through theoretical statements will help inform and expand research

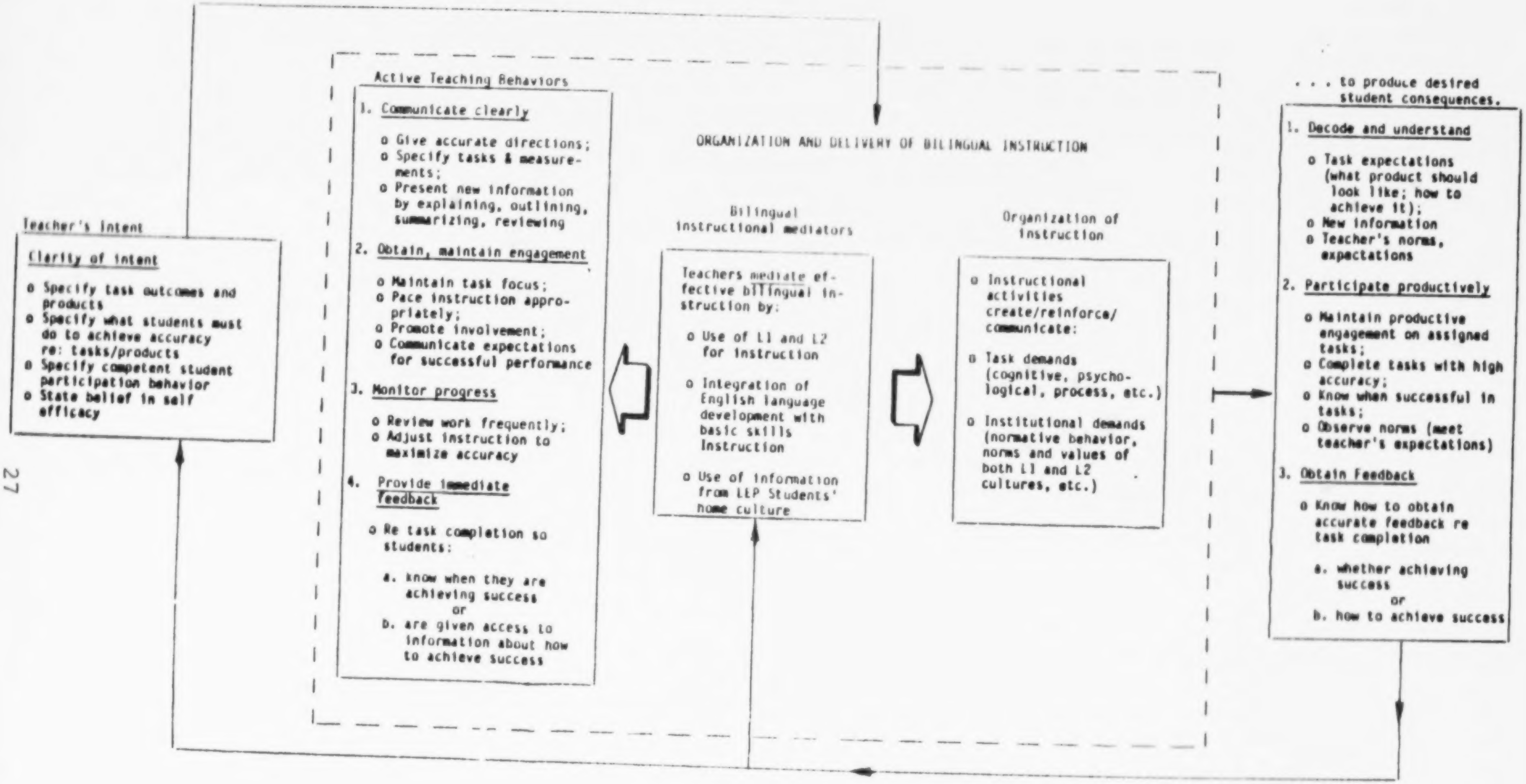
Teacher's Intent
Clarity of intent
o Specify task outcomes and products
o Specify what students must do to achieve accuracy re: tasks/products
o Specify competent student participation behavior
o State belief in self efficacy
Active Teaching Behaviors
1. Communicate clearly
o Give accurate directions;
o Specify tasks & measurements;
o Present new information by explaining, outlining, summarizing, reviewing
2. Obtain, maintain engagement
o Maintain task focus;
o Pace instruction appropriately;
o Promote involvement;
o Communicate expectations for successful performance
3. Monitor progress
o Review work frequently;
o Adjust instruction to maximize accuracy
4. Provide immediate feedback
o Re task completion so students:
a. know when they are achieving success
or
b. are given access to information about how to achieve success
ORGANIZATION AND DELIVERY OF BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION
Bilingual instructional mediators
Teachers mediate effective bilingual instruction by:
o Use of L1 and L2 for instruction
o Integration of English language development with basic skills instruction
o Use of information from LEP Students' home culture
Organization of instruction
o Instructional activities create/reinforce/communicate:
o Task demands (cognitive, psychological, process, etc.)
o Institutional demands (normative behavior, norms and values of both L1 and L2 cultures, etc.)
. . . to produce desired student consequences.
1. Decode and understand
o Task expectations (what product should look like; how to achieve it);
o New information
o Teacher's norms, expectations
2. Participate productively
o Maintain productive engagement on assigned tasks;
o Complete tasks with high accuracy;
o Know when successful in tasks;
o Observe norms (meet teacher's expectations)
3. Obtain Feedback
o Know how to obtain accurate feedback re task completion
a. whether achieving success
or
b. how to achieve success

Figure 2. A framework for bilingual instruction.

on teaching. Considering that this is a relatively large study of *successful* teachers, investment of funds in an attempt to understand the relationships among variables and to generate statements of theory is especially important.

Teacher Expectations

Teachers vary considerably in how they use time, manage classrooms, mediate textbook and curriculum assignments, and in the extent to which they emphasize either meaning or drill-like activities. However, instructional variation can be found not only *between* classrooms (e.g., how two teachers vary from one another in their classroom behavior), but also *within* classrooms (one teacher behaves in different ways toward subgroups of students in his/her class). For instance, some teachers who provide considerable feedback may evenly distribute their evaluative comments to students, but other teachers may provide feedback to only a few students in the class. Although some teachers fail to provide entire classes with appropriate content and stimulation, in some classrooms students perceived by teachers to be low achievers are the only students who receive inadequate instruction.

Much of the research conducted in the 1970's consisted of classroom observational studies aimed at determining what teachers *do* in their interactions with high- and low-achieving students. The extent to which teachers differentiate their behavior toward students has been found to represent an individual difference variable, with some teachers varying their behavior more than others (Brophy & Good, 1974; Good & Brophy, 1980; Cooper & Good, 1983).

Although the causes of differential interaction are not definitely established, it is clear that many teachers vary sharply in their interaction patterns with high- and low-achieving students. Brophy and Good (1974) estimated that about one third of the classroom teachers who have been observed in related research have shown patterns of highly differentiated behavior toward high and low achievers. Teachers differentiate their behavior toward students they perceive as high or low achievers in a variety of ways. (For a comprehensive discussion of these variables see Cooper & Good, 1983; Good & Brophy, in press.) A few of the ways teachers have been found to differ in their treatment of students are: (a) calling on low achievers less often to answer classroom questions or to make public demonstrations; (b) waiting less time for low achievers to answer questions; (c) praising low achievers less frequently than highs after successful public responses; (d) criticizing low achievers more frequently than highs for incorrect public responses; and (e) not staying with low achievers in failure situations (providing clues, asking follow-up questions).

It is important to examine the implications of such teacher behaviors for low achievers. It seems that a good strategy for students who face such conditions would be not to volunteer or not to respond when called on, because such an instructional system discourages students from taking risks. To the extent that students are motivated to reduce risks and ambiguity--and many argue that students are strongly motivated to do so (see Doyle, 1979)--it seems that students would become more passive in order to reduce the risks of public failure.

Explanations for Differential Teacher Behavior

One basic cause of differential behavior is that classrooms are very *busy* and *complex* environments and it is difficult for teachers to accurately assess the frequency and quality of their interactions with individual students.

A second explanation involves the fact that much classroom behavior has to be *interpreted* before it has meaning. Research (e.g., Anderson-Levitt, in press) suggests that once a teacher develops an expectation about a student (e.g., the student is not capable of learning), the teacher interprets subsequent ambiguous classroom events in a way consistent with the original expectation. Good (1980) maintains that most classroom behavior is ambiguous and subject to multiple interpretations.

A third reason why teachers differentiate more or less in their behavior toward high- and low-achieving students involves the issue of *causality*. Some teachers believe that they can and will influence student learning (for example, see Brophy & Evertson, 1976). Such teachers may interpret student failure as the need for more instruction, more clarification, and eventually increased opportunity to learn. Other teachers, because they assign blame rather than assume partial responsibility for student failure, may interpret failure as the need to provide less challenge and fewer opportunities to learn. Teachers who do not have a strong sense that they can influence student learning are therefore more likely to overreact to student error and failure (perhaps by subsequently assigning work that is too easy) than teachers who feel that they can influence student learning and that they are a partial *cause* of student failure when it does take place.

Another explanation for differential teacher behavior is *student behavior*. Students present themselves in different ways to teachers and these self-perception styles may influence teacher responses. Dee Spencer Hall (1981) has noted that some students are able to time their misbehavior in such a way as to escape teacher attention, whereas other students who misbehave just as often are reprimanded considerably more frequently because the timing of their misbehavior is inappropriate. Carrasco (1979) suggests that students may demonstrate competence in a style that escapes teacher attention. According to Green and Smith (in press), the language some students use makes it likely that teachers will underestimate their potential.

Metz (1978) provides another illustration of how students may influence teacher behavior. She reports that students in low track junior high classes like to do seatwork and dislike public interaction and classroom lecture. In part, low achievers prefer seatwork (and encourage teachers to assign more seatwork) because it presents less risk to them. We previously noted that teachers who do not possess management skills are especially likely to be vulnerable to student influence. Finally, McDermott (1976) found that in one classroom, low achievers received less reading practice because they were interrupted frequently by other students during reading instruction. The interruptions were partly due to the fact that the low achievers' behavior during the reading group allowed other students to interrupt them. Hence, students appear to be an active part of the expectancy cycle. The behavior of some students encourages and reinforces teaching efforts, whereas other students' behavior discourages teaching.

Green and Smith (in press) report that teachers use students' linguistic performances as one basis for evaluation of their academic performance. Thus, students must know academic information as well as how (and when) to display academic knowledge. Being accurate is not enough; students need to present information in appropriate form at the appropriate time. Students have to know both the form and the content required. Thus, because of linguistic deficiencies and/or lack of awareness of social cues, some students may have much more difficulty convincing teachers that they know the material than do other students.

We have suggested several reasons why teachers may behave differently toward high- and low-achieving students: the complexity of the classroom; the ambiguous nature of student performance; teachers' beliefs about causality (their ability to cause or to influence student performance); and students' behavior. Obviously, these are dynamic influences and they often occur in combination.

For example, Confrey and Good (in progress) note that in one class students were placed in either a high or low mathematics group on the basis of their teacher's interpretation of the students' performances during the first weeks of mathematics class. The assignment of students to the high group was based in part upon the speed with which they were performing mathematics tasks. Ironically, a week of observation indicated that students in the low group often watched what the teacher was doing in the high group and in interview sessions they indicated that they observed the high group because they wanted to get a step ahead and learn what the high group was learning. Unfortunately, because the teacher was interested in speed of performance and because low achievers spent time watching the other group rather than doing their own seatwork, their incomplete seatwork assignments reinforced the teacher's original expectations and supported the belief that the assignments to high and low groups were correct. Students' interpretations of their classroom roles and their behavior influenced and maintained teacher expectations and behavior.

Student Passivity: Role Confusion

Recent research suggests that teachers vary widely in how they react to student problems and this variation may make it difficult for students to understand what is expected of them. As noted above, studies show that some teachers criticize low achievers more frequently than high achievers per incorrect response, and praise low achievers less per correct answer than high achievers. In contrast, other teachers praise marginal or incorrect responses given by low achievers. These findings reflect two different types of teachers. Teachers who crititicize lows for incorrect responses seem to be basically intolerant of these pupils. Teachers who reward marginal, even wrong, answers are excessively sympathetic and unnecessarily protective of lows. Both types of teacher behavior illustrate to students that effort and classroom performance are not related (Good & Brophy, 1977). Over time, such differences among teachers in the way they praise low achievers may reduce low students' efforts and contribute to a passive learning style.

Other teacher behaviors may also encourage student passivity. Low students who are called on frequently one year year (the teacher believes that they need to be active if they are to learn), but are seldom called on the following year (the teacher doesn't want to embarrass them) may find it confusing to adjust to different role definitions. Ironically, these students, who have the least adaptive capacity, may be asked to make the most accommodation as they move from classroom to classroom. The greater variation in how different teachers interact with low students (in contrast to the more similar patterns of behavior that high students receive from different teachers) may be due to lack of agreement among teachers about how to respond to students who do not learn readily.

Even within a given year low achievers must often adjust to more varied expectations. This may be true in part because many low achievers have several teachers (in addition to the regular teacher they may have a remedial math, reading, or speech teacher). Ironically, these students may receive less and/or different instruction because of attempts to provide them with extra assistance. Hill and Kimbrough (1981) studied pull-out instruction in schools that operated four or more categorical (special need) programs. They found that pull-out programs posed problems for students who received special assistance as well as for regular teachers, because, due to scheduling problems, special programs were replacing, not supplementing, the core curriculum for many students.

Even when students did receive both regular and supplemental instruction, they were still not well-served. Hill and Kimbrough found that in several cases incompatible teaching methods and materials were used in special and regular classrooms. Hence, many children became confused by conflicting instructional approaches taken by special and regular teachers, and conceptual learning was especially difficult for these students.

Teacher Expectations and SBIF Study Data

As noted earlier, the SBIF descriptive study provides important statements about how successful bilingual teachers organize classrooms and instruct students. This information identifies generalized instructional techniques that increase student achievement. Although the study documents teacher behavior toward an entire class (and implicitly how more and less effective teachers' behavior varies across classrooms), it has yielded less information about within-classroom differences in teacher behavior. Detailed information about how successful teachers plan for and respond to individual students would be very useful.

Considering that teachers can expect too little or too much from students, or conduct instruction too fast or too slowly, it would be valuable to know how successful bilingual teachers conceptualize and accommodate individual differences in student learning. How these teachers communicate with relatively more and less able students is another topic which merits study. Do they on occasion provide different assignments for various students, and if so, how do they structure tasks so that students do not associate easier work with lower ability or status (which tends to decrease the motivation of slower students)?

Among many other questions that could be asked about within-classroom variation is the following: How do the successful SBIF study teachers monitor the behavior of individual students in group settings? (What types of data do they obtain? How frequently? From which types of students?) We possess considerable information about how regular and bilingual teachers teach entire classes, but we have little information about how teachers of proven effectiveness (defined in terms of average class performance) communicate with individual students. Such information is needed if research on teaching is to yield instructional theory.

In the previous discussion of the teacher expectation literature, I stated that teachers often communicate in varied ways with students they perceive as having low ability. (Some teachers provide these students with gratuitous praise for marginal effort; other teachers fail to praise substantial contributions from such students.) Later, I will discuss the potentially important role of bilingual studies in helping classroom researchers to understand more fully the positive and negative effects of differences among teachers in behavior and expectations on student motivation and achievement. However, before doing so, I wish to briefly explore another area of general classroom research that has bearing on understanding the SBIF descriptive study findings.

Student Perceptions

Although student variables have been neglected in classroom studies until recently, there is a growing literature on student behavior and expectations. Furthermore, there is ample evidence that students can mediate the intended effects of instruction. I will describe this literature very briefly here. For a more detailed discussion of students' perceptions of teachers, other school personnel, peers, causes of behavior, the classroom, and the school, see Weinstein (in press). For information about attempts to identify and to study students with different participation styles, I refer readers to Tikunoff and Vazquez-Faria (1982) and Tikunoff (1983).

Perceptions of Teachers

Classrooms vary in the extent of *differential treatment* perceived by students. There is evidence that students are highly sensitive to variations in teacher treatment (interaction patterns and nonverbal messages) within classrooms. Through varied treatment, students infer teacher expectations for academic performance. Moreover, differential relationships hold between teacher expectations, student expectations, and student achievement in classrooms where greater differential treatment is perceived than in other classrooms (e.g., Weinstein & Middlestadt, 1979; Weinstein, Marshall, Brattesani, & Middlestadt, in press; Brattesani, Weinstein, Middlestadt, & Marshall, 1981). That is, in classrooms where students were aware of teachers' differential treatment of high and low achievers, students' own expectations for themselves more closely matched the teachers' expectations, and the teachers' expectations for their students more clearly predicted student performance.

Studies of students' perceptions of teachers' instructional behavior (e.g., Peterson & Swing, 1982; Winne & Marx, 1980; 1982) suggest that student perceptions and cognitions during instruction can mediate the effects of instruction on student achievement. Evidence indicates that students often may not perceive what teachers intend. Also, some students who appear to observers to be attending to lecture or class discussion reported in interviews later that they were actually thinking about other things, such as how they would perform in relation to other students.

In some classrooms, students may perceive more differential teacher behavior toward high and low achievers than is indicated by behavioral records made by classroom observers (Cooper & Good, 1983). It is not clear whether students report greater differences in teacher behavior because they have more cues and are more sensitive to teaching acts than observers or because students "over-react" to certain cues. Some students are likely reliable observers of classroom events and others are probably not perceptive. Still, there is evidence that students can provide valuable insight about teaching (Cooper & Good, 1983; Weinstein, in press). Just as teachers may act upon their beliefs and perceptions (e.g., they believe an average student is below average), students also react according to their perceptions of teachers' behaviors and intentions (Weinstein, in press).

Perceptions of Ability

Developmental literature suggests that young children perceive ability or intelligence as a changeable entity which can be improved with effort. They also seem to rely on absolute and individual standards rather than norms to assess ability. Blumenfeld and her colleagues (1982) argue that young children's self-perceptions are thus biased in a positive direction.

However, there is much evidence that as students get older, classroom conditions (feedback patterns, reward structures) which increase the differences between high and low achievers affect student's perceptions of ability, and their perceptions of their ability more closely match their teacher's perceptions. Students also evaluate their own abilities by comparing themselves with peers during the daily performance of tasks in classrooms. The evaluative cues available to students, however, differ according to the structure (e.g., wholeclass, group, or individual instruction; lecture; seatwork) and climate (e.g., extrinsic vs. intrinsic reward structure) of the classroom and the school. A climate with high and flexible expectations, varied tasks and opportunities for evaluation, a focus on task mastery, and a belief in the changeability of intelligence can provide a context in which students can evaluate themselves on several dimensions and feel positive about their potential for future success.

Achievement behavior has been the most frequently studied process in relation to students' perceptions of the causes of behavior, particularly in an attribution framework. Applications of attribution theory to classrooms will have to consider how success and failure judgments are made by students. Recent work suggests that childrens' definitions of success vary across individual pupils, tasks, and situations (Frieze, Francis, & Harrusa, 1982). One study (Frieze & Snyder, 1980) of the attribution patterns of elementary students for success and failure in four situations showed that the achievement situation elicited different causal mechanisms than other situations. Effort was most important for school testing situations, while ability was seen as critical to finishing an art project or winning in football. Thus, there is a growing literature to suggest that the way in which students perceive classroom behaviors and tasks will mediate how students react to classroom events.

Variation in Teacher Behavior and Student Mediation

In reviewing teacher expectation literature, I argued that students who are perceived as needing more help are often treated in quite different ways by various teachers. As a result, some students may become intellectually passive as a way of coping with low expectations from one teacher or with ambiguous and conflicting expectations from several teachers. However, in this literature review, I also argued that how students perceive classrooms, teachers, and tasks influences their behavior. Hence, differential teacher behavior (that appears to be inappropriate) may not have direct or indirect effects on students (i.e., on student motivation) if they do not perceive the varied behavior or if they do not see the consequences (e.g., not being called upon) as unfair or aversive. For example, Cooper and Good (1983) note that there was almost total incongruence between teacher and student perceptions of teachers' use of praise and criticism (although there was some general overlap between teachers' and students' perceptions of the frequency of certain types of teacher-student interactions). Such findings suggest that communication was uneven in the classrooms they studied. Teachers' attempts at praise were not always interpreted (or remembered) as praise by students.

Because many students who have specific English language deficiencies (including many bright and perceptive pupils) are apt to be perceived by at least some teachers as less capable than they are, it is especially important to study student interpretation and mediation of instruction in bilingual classrooms. Because they have more teachers, LEP students are likely to receive more varied expectations than other students in elementary schools.

It is thus more likely that these students will be subject to conflicting behavioral norms (e.g., some teachers encourage students to try and work problems independently before seeking help; whereas, other teachers encourage students to seek help early so that they don't practice errors). The instruction they receive will be more fragmented (e.g., they will miss key instructional information while out of the room receiving supplementary instruction) and more conceptually confused (fractions are taught in different ways in the regular and supplemental classes).

Because many classroom teachers are less active in presenting, monitoring, and reteaching than the successful teachers in the SBIF descriptive study, it is clear that many students will move from bilingual classes to classrooms where teachers are less systematic and less clear about what they want students to learn. This raises for future study questions like: Do students perceive these differences, and how do they interpret them? How should successful bilingual teachers prepare students for life in other classrooms? Do teachers who have long-term positive effects on student learning spend more time helping students develop skills for autonomous learning and pay less attention to language skills?

Summary

Although the similarities and differences between successful bilingual classrooms and effective regular classrooms cannot be assessed with the SBIF descriptive study data, this is a significant question that research on bilingual instruction must deal with. However, by making these settings similar to one another we have, in my opinion, taken a major step toward more equitable education. To go further we must know more about how students perceive and respond to classroom events. Although one of the specific questions raised here (how do students perceive their roles in bilingual and regular classrooms?) cannot be answered without further data, the current SBIF data can yield much information about student perceptions of instruction in bilingual classrooms.

Good and Stipek (1982) argue that those who advocate unique and/or individualized programs for distinct types of students often assume that these students should receive the same content as other pupils, but need different instructional programs. However, as I argued in my review of teacher expectation effects, it appears that in some settings certain students receive differential treatment (e.g., unequal access to the teacher, drill rather than conceptually oriented instruction). The data collected in successful bilingual classrooms in this study, and results of several recent teacher effectiveness studies, suggest that students in general benefit from active instruction in which concepts are systematically taught. These findings indicate that students who are not proficient in English do not need a distinctly different instructional program (e.g., program emphasizing drill and practice). Some previous remedial efforts have erred by overemphasizing drill and practice.

Teachers who have successful classes (in different contexts) are adept at communicating with students and involving them in appropriate academic tasks. In a recent paper reviewing individual differences in students and related implications for instruction, Deborah Stipek and I emphasize that teachers need to begin the year with a general instructional program that they can implement competently and effectively. However, we also believe that in any instructional program, teachers must adjust instruction to students' skills and learning styles. In order to perform this role competently, Stipek and I believe that teachers need to have extensive knowledge about how children learn and develop. Furthermore, teachers must be trained as problem solvers.

The SBIF study data, however, illustrate one way in which teachers function as decision makers by illuminating how teachers use instruction to respond to students' particular needs. The data suggest that effective teachers used LEP students' native language when appropriate in order to be sure that students understood instructional expectations. Obviously such attempts at "differentiated instruction" are important teacher actions. Interestingly, these findings from what is perceived to be a deficit model by some (bilingual instruction) show much potential for contributing to our general understanding of effective instruction.

Unfortunately, we know very little about how teachers who instruct entire classes effectively adjust instruction to individual students. Analyzing the SBIF data in ways that enable us to address this issue would be an important contribution to the field of classroom research. For example, one wonders what explicit criteria successful bilingual instructors use for determining when (and for how long) to use a student's native language for that particular student. Any future study of teacher communication with individual students should examine individual students' perceptions and reactions to such differentiated teacher behavior.

Finally, I suggest that variation in communication patterns that students receive across teachers (particularly young students who receive instruction from several teachers on the same day) is an important area of inquiry. We do not yet know when certain variations in teacher style and/or expectations will have positive influence on students nor can we predict when they will have negative impact (e.g., students do not think about and actively deal with ambiguity and become passive). I, therefore, believe that future research and theory concerning the effects of schooling on students should examine processes across classrooms as well as within a given setting and must more systematically examine how variations in process are perceived by students. This would be most important for understanding the summative effects of bilingual instruction for LEP students.

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CHAPTER FOUR

EFFECTIVE LANGUAGE USE IN BILINGUAL CLASSES

Lily Wong Fillmore

The findings of the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) descriptive study on language use in its research classrooms are discussed in this chapter. There were several major findings on how teachers in these successful bilingual classes used language for instructional purposes; they are encouraging in certain respects, but troubling in others.

Use of Two Languages for Instruction

One finding that is particularly encouraging is that teachers in the SBIF study classes did indeed use the students' first language (L1) during instructional activities. This ought not to be surprising or even remarkable since L1 use is the defining characteristic of American bilingual education programs intended for students who are limited English proficient (LEP). Bilingual instruction means the use of two languages for instructional purposes. English, since it is the societal language of the U.S., is obviously one of these two languages; the home language of the LEP students served by a given program is the other. If their L1 is not used, the LEP students do not get the instructional benefit that bilingual programs are supposed to provide for students who do not know English well enough to deal with instruction delivered exclusively in that language.

The use of two languages in school makes it possible for LEP students to meet two major instructional goals. They must learn English well enough to handle its eventual exclusive use both in school and outside of it. Instructional activities conducted in English provide some of the contact students need in order to learn it as a second language. Besides English, however, these students must also learn everything else that is to be acquired in school: they must learn the literacy and computational skills that are needed in adult life as well as the specific knowledge and information that people are expected to acquire in school. Knowing the language in which instruction is given is a prerequisite to learning what is taught in school, since much of the skills and information to be acquired is language related, or is conveyed by the printed or spoken word. If students do not understand the language in which they are instructed, they derive little or no benefit from this instruction (a truism that the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged in its 1974 ruling in the Lau vs. Nichols case, but that many people in this society nevertheless find difficult to accept). The use of the L1 of LEP students as a medium of instruction provides them access to the academic content of school while they are learning English. In fact, some supporters of bilingual instruction have argued that the use of the students' L1 in school actually facilitates their learning of English. At the very least, it gives them time to learn English without delaying their progress in other areas of academic development.

Bilingual educators advocate the use of English and the LEP students' L1 for instruction in about equal amounts, thereby ensuring that the students have enough exposure to English in order to learn it as a second language, and at the same time, giving them enough subject matter instruction in their L1 to allow them to keep up in school. Despite the complexity of the instructional problem this presents to teachers, this formula makes good pedogogical sense. It is perhaps the only way that both of the instructional objectives that must be met for these children can be accomplished.

Nevertheless, this is the most controversial feature of bilingual education. A popular belief held by a great many people in this country--including policy makers, educators, parents and the general public--is that the use of the L1 in school, far from facilitating the learning of English by LEP students, makes it possible for them to avoid learning it altogether. In their view, it may actually hinder the learning of English. Much of the controversy focuses on how much L1 is used in school and for what purpose. While there are some extreme critics of bilingual education who argue that the L1 ought not to be used at all in school, most people accept its temporary and occasional use in the classroom to help LEP students make a transition to English. The general suspicion among critics of bilingual education is that the L1 is either the exclusive or predominant medium of instruction in many bilingual programs. This, they argue, is the reason why so many LEP students remain in bilingual programs. As long as they are being given instruction in a language they already know, they do not have to learn English. And if they do not have to learn it, they will not.

This kind of criticism has had its effects on bilingual education programs. Teachers have become increasingly reluctant to use the students' L1 in bilingual classes. This is due in part to uncertainties that the controversy over bilingual education has raised even among bilingual teachers. Many of them are uncertain over what it means to teach "bilingually." Add to this the weight of the public debate over whether they should be doing it at all, and teachers find it impossibly difficult to figure out how best to proceed.

How are the two languages to be used in practical terms? If something is taught in the LEP students' L1, will it have to be retaught to them in English once they learn that language? The students must learn English; how is it possible to teach them everything else in the curriculum as well? Which goal is more important, acquisition of English or subject matter? Teachers are influenced by the fact that their programs are evaluated by the academic progress their students show in tests that are given in English. They fear that instruction given in the LEP students' L1 may not be reflected in these tests. The easiest solution for many of them is not to deal with the complexities at all, and to simply teach exclusively in English. Hence, one finds less and less L1 usage in bilingual classes. One rarely finds anything approaching the 50-50 ideal these days. In fact, one rarely finds much regular use of the students' L1 for instructional purposes at all in many bilingual classes. When the L1 is used, it is largely for classroom or behavioral management. From the perspective of the LEP students, instruction in these classes is bilingual in name only.

Thus, it is encouraging to learn that the teachers in the successful classrooms of the SBIF descriptive study used the home language of the students for instructional purposes. They did not use it as much as the general public suspects they do (i.e., exclusively), nor as much as proponents of bilingual education think they should (at least 50% of the time), but they were using it. The 25 percent L1 usage found in this study is especially cheering, compared with what we found in another bilingual education study funded under the U.S. Department of Education's Part C Research Agenda. In that study being conducted at the University of California at Berkeley (Learning English through Bilingual Instruction, NIE-400-0030), my colleagues and I found considerably less frequent L1 usage in our sample of 18 classrooms. The SBIF study's finding of 25 percent across its first phase sample of 58 classrooms is consistent with the 30 percent reported earlier by Schultz (1975). Our finding of 8 to 10 percent is much lower than either of these. This may be due in part to differences in the methods used to determine frequency of use across studies. In the SBIF study, the method used was to measure the interval of time between language switches; hence, timing for L1 usage begins when a teacher switches from English to L1, and ends with a switch back to English. These intervals include both speech and silence, but this is not differentiated in the calculations. The method used in the Berkeley project involved counting speech and silence separately. Hence, the figures we have reported are for English, L1 and silence. This appears to be an important distinction since teachers differ considerably in how much time they spend talking in any language. The average amount of time spent in silence during instructional activities across the 18 teachers in our study ranged from 27 percent of the time to a record-breaking 86 percent.

Another difference may well have to do with the grade levels involved in the two studies. The SBIF study sample included classes from kindergarten through junior high school. The Berkeley sample included third and fifth grade classes only. As one might expect, there is relatively more L1 usage in the early primary grades when LEP students are just entering school. By the third or fourth grade, many of these students know enough English to get by in school. Since teachers tend to use the L1 in bilingual classes primarily when they believe that there are students who may have difficulty understanding English, it is not surprising that one finds less L1 usage in the upper elementary grades than in the lower ones. One might expect that there would be even fewer LEP students in the upper grades, particularly at the junior high school level, and therefore less L1 usage there. However, students are seldom kept in bilingual programs after they have learned enough English to get along. They are usually "mainstreamed," moved into all English classes, to make room for newcomers who enter school with no English. Students who begin school with no English during kindergarten or the first grade are generally moved out of bilingual programs at the end of the fifth or sixth grade, depending on when the transition to junior school takes place. There is always a mix of language skill levels among the students in any given bilingual classroom, since newcomers are being placed there as they show up and as long as there is space. However, there tends to be a concentration of relatively less proficient students in the lower grades at each level. Students who are in bilingual programs in junior high school are almost always relative newcomers, and hence novices at English. As soon as they learn enough English to get by without L1 support, these students are mainstreamed. The SBIF study sample, drawn as it was from across the grades, no doubt reflects a broader spectrum of the language needs of LEP students in bilingual programs than does our third and fifth grade sample. However, the 8 to 10 percent L1 usage we found may be a lot closer to what one would find even across the grades if one looked outside of successful classes. I have visited a great many bilingual classes in connection with the studies we have been doing in the last several years (in addition to the ones actually included in our study sample), and what we have been finding in our study classrooms is not at all unrepresentative. That successful bilingual teachers are able to remain on course with respect to this essential feature of bilingual instruction despite the forces working against it, as I have said, is encouraging. One hopes that other teachers will follow their example.

Ways of Using Two Languages for Instruction

The second major finding on language use in the SBIF study has to do with *how* the teachers of these successful classrooms used the two languages of instruction. How language is used in bilingual programs is an important question, since it plays a crucial role in the academic development of the students in these classes.

In bilingual classrooms, the languages of instruction serve not only as the means by which instructional content and skills are communicated, but also as the basis by which language is learned and developed. The extent to which the two languages are used, and the manner in which they are used for instructional purposes, can determine how much the LEP students learn of the subject matter that is presented, and how well they learn English. To promote academic development, the language in which instruction is presented must be accurate, clear, specific, and appropriate. The speaker (the teacher) must keep the linguistic capabilities of the addressees (the students) in mind in order to produce language that communicates information clearly and adequately. If what is to be taught requires a command of the language of instruction that is beyond the linguistic capabilities of the students, then other means have to be found to make it available to them.

The question of whether the language used by the teachers in the SBIF study classes served the function of communicating subject matter effectively or not was one that was closely examined in that study. It was found to be quite effective in this regard. English was the predominant language of instruction in these classes, while the students' L1 was used primarily to aid in the communication of instruction when it appeared that the students were having difficulty comprehending what was being said in English. In other words, when the teachers in these classes used the L1, it was generally in alternation with English and in the context of instructional activities conducted in English.

The SBIF study researchers point out that teachers are faced with enormous problems when trying to teach in a language the students do not understand. How are they to effectively communicate and impart information to the students when the students do not understand the language of instruction? The situation is even more complicated when there are both fluent English-speakers and LEP students in the same class. The SBIF researchers argue that the teachers' use of language alternation is a good solution. In this way, they provide both access to the subject matter and exposure to the language to be learned in a manner that communicates effectively.

It would appear from the SBIF study findings that when teachers alternated between languages, it was often for the purpose of translation. That is, the pattern of usage reported was one in which the content of the first statement in an adjacent pair of utterances was in the one language (either English or the L1), and the second statement, whether a paraphrase or explanation of the first, was in the other language (either the students' L1 or English). Half of these alternations were found to be in the service of "instructional development," around one third were used when procedures and directions were being given, and a fifth were used by teachers when providing "behavioral feedback to students." These alternations were more frequently directed at individual students (50% of the time) than to the whole class or to subgroups (25%). Hence, it would appear that the use of the L1 in these classes was quite selective: teachers used it principally when they believed that an individual student in the class, or the class as a whole, did not know English well enough to comprehend instruction or directions given in that language alone. In this way, the students in the class who did not know English well enough to understand what was said nevertheless had access to the subject matter and information being taught, even if it was indirect. This works well enough for subject matter instruction. From the teachers' perspective, it is the easiest and most immediately effective way to communicate information to students who lack sufficient English proficiency to otherwise keep up with the class.

Whether such language alternation works as well for language learning is another matter. This was a question that the SBIF study did not raise. In order to tell what effect this kind of language use might have on language learning, one would have to consider what works as linguistic "input." Language cannot be learned without exposure to speech that meets certain conditions. In part, language that works as input is like the language of effective communication, but it goes beyond that. Language that works as input is speech that has been modified with the linguistic needs of specific learners in mind. When people are trying to communicate with persons who do not share a common language with them, they try to make appropriate adjustments in structure and in content so that what they are trying to say can be understood. How much they adjust depends upon how much help the learners seem to need. Learners who appear to know a little may invoke only minor adjustments. Learners who appear to be completely new to the language will inspire massive adjustments from speakers. Speakers also try to provide enough non-verbal support for what they are saying (for example, by gesturing, demonstrating, or otherwise giving non-verbal cues) so the learners can figure out the message. Speech that has been produced in this way provides learners access to the language to be learned, but it is no more than an opportunity to learn language until learners take advantage of it. Language works as input when learners are motivated to try to figure things out for themselves. This involves the learner in a special kind of cognitive activity that is extremely demanding, but essential to the process of language learning. In trying to figure out what is being talked about, the learner begins to figure out how the language is structured, and how it can be used in communication. This is the heart of the language learning process.

The kind of adjustments that allow learners to figure things out for themselves (that is, without recourse to the L1) takes a lot of extra communicative effort on the part of teachers. It is difficult, if not impossible sometimes, to communicate instructional content at the desired level when proper linguistic adjustments are being made for the benefit of the language learners. Adjustments must be made if communication is to be direct. The most obvious area in which adjustments can be made is in content. In lessons that are effective from the perspective of language learners, one finds rather substantial adjustments in what gets talked about and in the level at which the subject matter is treated. In order to communicate subject matter effectively to students who do not understand the language well, teachers tend to use many concrete examples and they anchor the language in things that the students already know or can experience during the lesson.

Now then, let us consider how well instructional language such as that found in the SBIF study classes (and in many of the ones I have visited myself) works as language learning input. I have found that when languages are used in alternation, there are seldom the kinds of adjustments either in structure or in content needed by language learners. Since both langauges are being used, adjustments are not needed. As a result, the English that gets used is not modified in ways that make it usable as input, and the students are not required to figure out what is going on for themselves. They are not motivated to pay attention to what is being said in English, or to make use of whatever information is available to them, in order to gain direct access to the instructional content of lessons. They already have access to meaning through their L1.

The example that follows will show what often happens to the language used in lessons when teachers rely on translation to provide students access to meaning. This illustration is drawn from "Example #1," which is contained in the appendix, and comes from one of the 18 classes in the Berkeley study. In it, we see a teacher of a third grade Spanish-English bilingual class going over a list of English vocabulary words. The lesson was an English language arts lesson, but it is quite clear that many of the students needed help in understanding the meanings of words in the list. Notice that for each word the teacher gave first an English definition of sorts, and then repeated that definition in translation:

> T: (Pointing at the first word listed on the board:) Number one is "weak." Not the day of the "week." It's when a person is weak. And that means you don't have too much strength. Like, when you get sick, and when you catch the flu. After you get over the flu, you still feel kinda weak. Right? You're not very strong. Weak.

T: Esto quiere decir "débil." Cuando uno esta débil, no esta fuerte. Por ejemplo, cuando tengamos la gripe, verdad? No tenemos fuerzas. Estamos débil. Es lo que quiere decir esta palabra. (=This means weak. When someone is weak, he's not strong, right? We don't have much strength; we're weak. That's what this word means.)

T: Number two is "spoke." The past tense. I spoke to my friend yesterday. OK. In the past tense.

T: Uh, esto quiere decir "hablar," in el pasado. Yo--ayer hablé con mi amigo. (=This means to speak, in the past. I--yesterday, I spoke with my friend.)

She continued in this manner for the rest of the lesson. In each case, exact translations (or close to that) were provided for each English explanation. I observed and recorded two full days of lessons of this sort in her class, and paid special attention to the way in which the LEP students responded during these lessons. What I found was that these students seemed not to be attentive when English was being used. They became alert, it appeared, when she switched back to Spanish. It was clear that they knew they would be getting the information in language they understood, so there was no reason for them to figure out what the teacher was saying in English. As a consequence, the language through which they were being instructed worked well enough for subject matter learning, but it was far from optimal for language learning. This is not to say that these students were necessarily being thwarted in their efforts to learn English. There may be other ways in which teachers do provide the kind of input they must have in order to develop English skills. Nevertheless, the language used in lessons is one of the most important potential sources of language input available to LEP students. If it is not used in a way that allows these students to make use of it for language learning, and if the learners are not motivated to do the figuring that is their part of the bargain, then a major opportunity for language development has been missed.

Consider what happens when teachers do try to make the kinds of adjustments that have to be made in order to teach directly in English. In Examples #2 and #3 (contained in the appendix), we find two teachers dealing with lessons similar to the one being taught by the teacher in Example #1. The students in #3 were much like those in #1 in English proficiency. Many of the students in #2 were far more limited in their command of English than the ones in #1 or #3. Notice how the teacher in the following excerpt from Example #2 made the meanings available to the students directly:

T: And what are the next two words, Norman? Can you tell me?

C: Inventor.

T: Inventor, yes, and--

C: Mayor.

T: What does an inventor do? Morris, do you know?

C: I dunno.

T: Fong, do you know?

C: They invented up things?

T: They make things. New things. An inventor made up the first TV. An inventor made the telephone, the first telephone. An inventor made the first electric light. An inventor invents things. He makes up new things for the first time.

The words being taught in this lesson were fairly difficult, since the concepts were rather abstract. The object of the lesson was to teach the students about English word formation processes, specifically, adding the suffix "-er or -or" to verbs to form agentive nouns. The problem was that the LEP students did not know the meaning of the root verbs from which the nouns they were learning were derived, and some of the words such as "invent" involved concepts that might not have been easy to demonstrate. Defining the noun in terms of the verb, as Fong tried to do, did not help. Instead of L1 equivalents, the teacher in this text made use of English words she believed that the students already knew, "make new things . . . for the first time . . . the first telephone . . . the first TV." This procedure gave the students clues as to what the words meant. In order to figure out what the teacher was getting at, the students had to put all of these notions together and figure out how they were related, and how they related with what they knew of the world. Notice the amount of redundancy and repetitiousness in this and in other parts of the text as the teacher placed the new information in the context of given information, that is, information the students had available to them already. In this way, what the children already knew of the language became information on which they could further develop their understanding of how the language works.

The teacher in Example #3 did a similar thing in her presentation of new vocabulary. Notice in this excerpt how the teacher got the students to relate a new word in English to words they already knew, or which she believed they knew:

T: (Points at the word "neighborhood" on her chart:) Your neighborhood. Who can tell me what that word means? Patricia?

C: Like the place where you live?

T: Um-hum. It's the area where your house is. Your neighborhood, boys and girls, is that area, right close by, where your house is.

C: Uh, where it is all the block?

T: Uhm-hum. It usually means like within a block or so.

C: Goes to a block?

T: Uh-huh. Within a block or so. And the people who live in your neighborhood are called your, what?

Cs: Your neighbors!

In this example, the teacher made the students draw on what they already knew. She helped them to put what they knew together with what was being taught. Patricia suggested that "neighborhood" is "the place where you live." The teacher introduced the term "area," "right close by, where your house is," as a more precise equivalent of "neighborhood." We see the teacher using repetition, redundancy and emphasis in conveying to the students what was to be understood of the lesson. By doing this, she made it possible for the students both to learn the content of the lesson and to make use of the experience for language development.

Summary

Am I suggesting that LEP students should be taught exclusively in English? Not at all. It is obvious that in making the kinds of adjustments needed by learners, the coverage of the curriculum is going to be incomplete. There are some things that can be taught in this way, there are many others that cannot. When the curricular content requires higher levels of language skills than students have, then it would seem that the L1 of the students ought to be used, but used by itself. Science and perhaps social studies certainly ought to be taught in language students know very well. Such lessons ought to be taught in as high a level of language as the students can handle. Students need to have some instructional experiences during which they are involved in the discussion and consideration of ideas and concepts at the most mature level they are capable of handling.

Such experiences have important linguistic benefits that are not talked about much these days. They can provide the basis for the development of mature language skills in the students' L1. Many advanced language skills are developed during the school years. They are developed through literacy and through the experiences students ordinarily get in school when they have to deal with cognitively demanding tasks.

Exposure to the mature forms of language that get used in academic settings is essential to language development, whether the language is the students' first language or English. Does this L1 development matter? It does if, as Jim Cummins has argued, the linguistic and cognitive skills that are needed to support academic development are most effectively developed in the first language of students.

In conclusion then, just how well the kind of language use found in the SBIF classrooms worked for language development is a question that needs to be examined carefully. The teachers in the SBIF study classes were using a lot more English than L1. How well did the English used in these classes work as input? What were the effects of the L1 alternations on the English that was used in lessons? These are questions that could be answered by doing a careful linguistic analysis of the instructional language used by these teachers.

Appendix

(Underscored words in the following transcripts are ones that were pronounced with stress. Sentences that are enclosed in brackets are translational equivalents of the Spanish used in this text. Explanatory notes in the transcript are enclosed in parentheses. T=Teacher; C=Child; Cs=Children.)

Example #1

Teacher with third grade Spanish-English bilingual class. She is going over a list of English spelling words written on the chalkboard. The object of the lesson is to teach the children the meaning of these items so they can use them in sentences which they are to construct and write out on their own.

1. T: Let me go over these first. Póngan atención Uds. [=Pay attention.]

2. T: (To a student who seems to be confused:) María puede trabajar contigo. [=María (the TA) can work with you.]

3. T: (Pointing at the first word listed on the board:) Number one is "weak." Not the day of the "week." It's when a person is weak. And that means you don't have too much strength. Like, when you get sick, and when you catch the flu. After you get over the flu, you still feel kinda weak. Right? You're not very strong. Weak.

4. T: Esto quiere decir "débil." Cuando uno esta débil, no esta fuerte. Por ejemplo, cuando tengamos la gripa, verdad? No tenemos fuerzas. Estamos débil. Es lo que quiere decir esta palabra. [=This means weak. When someone is weak, he's not strong, right? We don't have much strength; we're weak. That's what this word means.]

5. T: Number two is "spoke." The past tense. I spoke to my friend yesterday. OK. In the past tense.

6. T: Uh, esto quiere decir "hablar," en el pasado. Yo--ayer hablé con mi amigo. [=This means to speak, in the past. I--yesterday, I spoke with my friend.]

7. T: Number three is "silk." Know what that is? It's material. It's fabric. It's very shiny, and it's very soft. I'm sure you've seen this kind of material.

8. C: (unintelligible) a pillow.

9. T: Yeah, pillows can. The outsides can be made of silk. It's shiny and silvery.

10. T: Esta palabra es "seda." Saben lo que es tela. [=This word is silk. You all know what cloth is.]

11. C: (unintelligible)

12. T: Es tela, pero es bien suavecito y es brillosa. Y con la mano se resbala--el material. [It's cloth, but it's very soft and shiny. You can slide your hand on it--the material.

13. T: Number four is "pack." Like I'm going to pack a lunch. Or it could be a bag. It could be a backpack, when people go hiking. That's what it is pack.

14. T: Esto es como una bolsa, como empacan una bolsa grande de comida o de lo que sea. [=This is like a bag, like when they pack a large bag of food or whatever.]

15. T: Number five is "neck." El cuello. And number six is "lake." You know what that is. Lago. Number seven is "brick." Ladrillo.

16. T: Number eight is "beak," the mouth of a bird. The beak. El otro es la boca de la, del pajarito. El pico, el piquito. Verdad? El pico. Piquito. [=The next one is the mouth of a bird. The beak, the little beak, right? The beak. Little beak.

Example #2

Teacher with a reading group in a third grade bilingual class. The students are Cantonese-English bilingual students, most of them classified as LEP. They have been going through their vocabulary items in preparation for completing an assignment in their spelling workbooks.

1. T: And what are the next two words, Norman? Can you tell me?

2. C: Inventor.

3. T: Inventor, yes, and--

4. C: Mayor.

5. T: What does an inventor do? Morris, do you know?

6. C: I dunno.

7. T: Fong, do you know?

8. C: They invented up things?

9. T: They make things. New things. An inventor made up the first TV. An inventor made the telephone, the *first* telephone. An inventor made the *first* electric light. An inventor *invents* things. He makes up *new things for the first time*.

10. T: What does a mayor do?

11. C: A mayor is the person who own the city?

12. T: He doesn't *own* the city. The mayor doesn't own the city. He's kind of like the *leader* of the city. Do we have a mayor?

13. Cs: Yeah.

14. T: Raise your hand. Who is our mayor?
    (No response.)

15. T: Ooh! You forgot yesterday! Who is our mayor?

16. Cs: Mayor Feinstein!

17. T: Yes! Mayor Feinstein. Is our mayor a man or a woman?

18. Cs: Woman!

19. T: Yes, so a woman can be a mayor. A woman can be a governor. A woman can be a president! All right. The next two.

20. C: Tailor and a collector.

21. T: OK, do you know what a tailor does? May?

22. C: A tailor is, is someone who makes clothes.

23. T: Yes, a tailor is someone who makes clothes, especially suits and coats. And what about a collector? What does a collector do? Norman?

24. C: He collects things.

25. T: He collects or gathers and saves things. Collectors sometimes gather and save bottle tops, sometimes they gather and save baseball cards. What else can collectors gather together?

26. C: Stamps.

27. T: Stamps.

28. C: Money?

29. T: Coins! Lots of people collect coins. All different kinds of money and coins from all over the world. People who collect coins are called coin collectors. All right, the next two? Tong?

30. C: Ranger, butcher.

Example #3

Another teacher with a reading group in a third grade class. The students are Spanish-English bilingual students, most of them classified as LEP. The teacher has been going over some vocabulary items with these students in preparation for silent reading of a story in their English readers.

1. T: (Points at the word "neighborhood" on her chart:) Your *neighborhood*. Who can tell me what that word means? Patricia?

2. C: Like the place where you live?

3. T: Um-hum. It's the *area* where your house is. Your *neighborhood*, boys and girls, is that *area*, right close by, where your house is.

4. C: Uh, where it is all the block?

5. T: Uhm-hum. It *usually* means like within a block or so.

6. C: Goes to a block?

7. T: Uh-huh. Within a block or so. And the people who live in your neighborhood are called your, what?

8. Cs: Your neighbors!

9. T: Yes, the people who live in your *neighborhood* are your *neighbors*. The *neighborhood* is the *area* close by your house. OK, let's go over the words again.

   (Teacher and students read the list of words again until they get to the word "neighborhood":)

10. T: *Neighborhood*. Is this a compound word?

11. Cs: Yes. Yeah.

12. T: Made up of what?

13. C: Neighbor!

14. T: And--

15. Cs: Hood!

16. T: Yes!

Reference

Schultz, J. Language use in bilingual classrooms. Paper presented at the TESOL annual convention, Los Angeles, March, 1975.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN SCHOOL SETTINGS

Christina Bratt Paulston

This paper forms one of a set of five "compatibility papers," which all seek to compare the findings from Part I of the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features Descriptive Study to the authors' research as well as to the research of others with whom they are familiar (see Tikunoff, Chapter One, this volume). The SBIF study was designed to identify, describe, and verify significant instructional features in bilingual instructional settings and their various consequences for limited English proficient (LEP) students and was mandated by Congress:

> In search of data to inform its consideration for renewal of support for bilingual education, Congress directed the Secretary of Education to "develop a national research program for bilingual education." In turn, the directors of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA) and the National Institute of Education (NIE) were instructed to coordinate a program of research to respond to Congress' questions. (Tikunoff, 1983, p.iv)

Objectives

The objective of this paper then is to identify further from Part I some significant questions, features, and issues that relate to second language acquisition in a school setting and to children's language learning in the classroom. These features and issues are then compared with what we know about these matters from other sources. It will readily be seen that our state of knowledge is very unsatisfactory.

We know surprisingly little about how children learn a second language. Barry McLaughlin (1982) concludes his Language Learning in Bilingual Instruction: Literature Review with this caution: "The point is that we are not at the conclusion stage but at the hypothesis stage. The quality and quantity of the research is simply not sufficient to support definitive statements" (p. 89). It is probably the most important point that arises from examining the research in general, and it is one that I cannot sufficiently emphasize.

We are beginning to be able to ask significant questions, to see trends and directions, but I want to make very clear that this paper should be read as an explorative discussion, not as an exposition of finite knowledge. It is my strong conviction that in the long run we only harm the children we want to help by pretending to a state of affairs that is inaccurate, however appealing.

Methodology

The procedures I have followed in writing this paper are standard. In reading Part I of the SBIF study, especially the ecological case studies, I noted features that struck me as significant for language learning and these, together with the features mentioned by the study as significant, I arranged according to topic. I then examined these features as well as the significance claimed for them (to my mind these points did not always agree) from the viewpoint of my understanding of bilingual instruction, based on years of classroom experience, my previous reviews of the literature (1974, 1975, 1977, 1980a), an ERIC search, and a search of dissertations on bilingual education.[1] I had just finished a report to Skol Overstyrelsen, of the Swedish Ministry of Education, on the research and debate of the schooling of the children of immigrant workers in Sweden (1983). Those findings from a European setting also influenced my reflections. In addition, in January I visited schools and classrooms in Texas where I discussed problems and significant features with principals, classroom teachers, and school district personnel in order to fill in descriptions, verify hunches, and rejuvenate a sense of focus from the classroom rather than the ivory tower.[2]

I will write in generalities because we urgently need to be able to generalize about the practices and effects of bilingual instruction, but we should not forget that it is individual children of flesh and blood we are discussing. The joy and delight of the third grade boy, brutally raped some months earlier, who had finally learned to read in Senora Olga's class, is a valid evaluation of bilingual education. My visit reminded me again that the most significant feature of bilingual education in the United States well may be that it helps ease the schooling of young children, some of whom have a very rough life. Although this paper deals with language acquisition, we need to remember that there are other matters in these children's lives of higher importance. Only when language acquisition becomes an indicator of school achievement, social success, social integration, and upward social mobility does second-language learning become truly important.

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[1] I owe thanks for the dissertation search to Teaching Fellow Fred Marshall. The search covered the years 1978 through 1982 since my 1977 study covered earlier dissertations.

[2] I am grateful to Sara Gallo for making all the arrangements in Texas.

Features and Issues

Goals for Bilingual Education Programs

Bilingual education in the United States takes place in a setting of language shift as attested to by the case studies (see e.g., Romero & Villegas, 1981, p. 23). However, the various groups shift at different rates with the Koreans (Kim, Lee, & Kim, 1981) and Vietnamese (Rupp, 1980) manifesting a very rapid shift[3] while the Navajo show the slowest rate of shift (Lieberson & Curry, 1971; Spolsky, 1977). There really are no accurate figures for the Southwest because of continued illegal migration, but certainly shift is taking place[4] (Teitelbaum, 1976; see also Cardenas, 1981, for a study of language attitudes). In such situations, language maintenance tends to become a very emotional matter as a marker of the old ethnicity, and some of this tension manifested itself in the early seventies as a conflict between English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) instruction and bilingual education as well as between the perceived goals of the programs as transitional or maintenance bilingual education. It is surprising to see how the climate has changed in ten years.

The general and unanimous first goal of the programs as perceived by the teachers in the SBIF descriptive study is for the children to learn English and learn English well. From my impressions, I would say the attitude of the SBIF teachers is typical of bilingual teachers today. The SBIF descriptive study avoids the controversial issue of transitional or maintenance bilingual education, but in general I think it is much more common today to find bilingual education administrators who are willing to settle for transitional bilingual education than it would have been ten years ago (Jones, 1981).

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[3] A two-generation shift is not uncommon, and I have actually come across cases where mother and child could only communicate in the most rudimentary fashion. The bilingual father constituted the common link.

[4] This paper is not the place to discuss the causes of differential rate of shift, and multiple causation is common, but manner of contact between the ethnic groups usually carries the highest explanatory power with voluntary migration typically resulting in rapid shift while annexation and colonization show slow if any shift (Schermerhorn, 1970).

This is a significant issue because the result is decreased conflict and controversy within bilingual education as the goal orientation of the program participants comes more to coincide with the legal objectives as Congress saw them. These comments are emphatically not meant as an endorsement against maintenance programs but are merely the pragmatic observation that it is easier for lawmakers to approve non-controversial programs.

Another consequence of what I see as an implicit shift to a transitional goal orientation (or should I say an acceptance of the official, legal goal orientation) is the attempt at alternatives to bilingual education, primarily ESL programs and immersion programs. I will discuss these below, but the point I want to make here is that the goal orientation of those programs are the same as those of bilingual education and so the programs themselves have become more acceptable than they were ten years ago.

The other major goal of the bilingual education program as perceived by the SBIF teachers is an affirmation of the children's cultural values and beliefs (see e.g., Villegas & Romero, 1981, p. 209). This is in accordance with bilingual education legislation and typically meets with little or no controversy in the school setting. I suspect this may also be a slight shift or at least a solidification of earlier p[illegible]tions. "Bilingual/bicultural" was the slogan of the maintenance proponents but now it has become generally acceptable across the board, by Anglos as well as by bilingual teachers.

Instruction and Teaching

The last decade in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) instruction has seen a steady emphasis on the process of student learning rather than on teaching behavior (Oller & Richards, 1973). So-called "humanistic methods," like Suggestopedia (Lozanov, 1979) and Community Counseling/Learning (Curran, 1976) have been much in vogue where the emphasis is more on an anxiety-free sharing of knowledge rather than on any teacher per se (Stevick, 1976, 1980). Krashen (1981) makes the theoretical distinction between language acquisition and language learning, where learning is the result of teaching while acquisition results from the student's processing of language intake (meaningful input). Acquisition is held to be by far the more significant aspect of second language development, and without the opportunity for acquisition, a second language is not likely to be mastered.

At first thought then, the SBIF descriptive study's consistent emphasis on the importance of effective instruction may seem surprising and somewhat contradictory. I would like to note two things before I discuss the SBIF findings. One, there are fads and fashions in TESOL, just as in everything else, and in another ten years when people are tired of the Silent Way (Gattegno, 1972) we are likely to go back to a concern with teaching. It doesn't follow, just because the focus is on the learner, that teaching is not important; the two are not mutually exclusive as the SBIF descriptive study indeed documents. Two, very few if any professors of linguistics, working in ESL, have taught at the elementary school level, and therefore most theoretical linguistic claims about language instruction at that level must be taken with a grain of salt. I find it both foolish and foolhardy to contradict experienced classroom teachers merely on theoretical grounds when they assure me that certain procedures and practices are helpful to the children. Instead I need to re-examine the theoretical notions.

My own impression from reading the SBIF documents is that the most important teaching characteristic is efficient classroom management, and my own classroom experience supports that conclusion. I think everyone in TESOL would agree that one of the teacher's major roles is to structure the school environment so that the students can learn, which is what good classroom management does. Good teaching allows for both learning and language acquisition. Learning would include activities which focused on form, such as reading aloud in English with the focus on sound-symbol relationship, working with vocabulary cards, copying sentences where the right word had to be filled in; while acquisition presumably takes place durings activities where the focus is on the content or function of language, such as free compositions, writing a shopping list for the make-believe store where the learning objectives were addition and getting correct change, as well as all those other activities which take place in English without focusing on form, such as the teaching of science and mathematics. The integrative approach, as the SBIF findings suggest, makes certain this acquisition phase of language development. All the evidence is quite clear that without such a stage of language use for communication, language teaching is not very efficient (Oller & Obrecht, 1968; Savignon, 1971). The Canadian immersion programs were founded on the belief that unless the second language is used for teaching content rather than just as a subject, language learning will not take place (Swain & Barik, 1978; Swain & Lapkin, 1981, n.d.). This is not to say that learning stages can be ignored, but that the children need the formal aspect of language learning. Presumably the failure of submersion classes results from ignoring this need.

Competent Student Participation

Competent student participation, according to the SBIF descriptive study, consists of accurate decoding and understanding, active participation, and obtaining feedback.

Principles of second language acquisition would support these points, but I question some aspects of the SBIF conclusions. It seems self-evident that a student cannot perform a task if s/he cannot understand the task expectations, but when the task is learning a second language, it becomes a lot less clear what understanding the parts of language entails. Hatch (1978) documents what children learn in her Second Language Acquisition but not really how they do it. We do realize that the "process is a very long, very demanding, and frequently frustrating one for the child" (Hatch, 1978, p.12). I think children probably focus on vocabulary and then work out the semantic relationship between lexical items from their pragmatic knowledge of the real world. In any case it is clear that good teachers spend a lot of effort, their own and students', on vocabulary development.

I would like to make a few comments here on learning vocabulary and the use of mother tongue translation. It is perfectly possible to learn vocabulary in English without access to the native language, and the Laotian and Vietnamese children do just that. They use vocabulary cards with pictures and sometimes speech, and the teachers make games with points and prizes out of such learning. The children guess from context, which is also how you learn words in your mother tongue.[5] It is fairly easy with concrete items, but when it comes to abstract items, teachers complain that it becomes much more difficult to get meaning across. When they can they resort to the easiest way, translation. For vocabulary acquisition, if the children know the corresponding item in their mother tongue, translation makes the task easier and probably much less frustrating. Even in the Canadian immersion programs, there are instances of translation; I have frequently heard a child say: "Comment dit-on because en francais?" asking for some word they needed.

Much of the vocabulary that children learn in school, they don't know in either L1 or L2, and then they have to work it out with synonyms or dictionary definitions and practice in context. Translation is of no help. Probably the major advantage of subject matter taught in the L1 is that it develops the vocabulary knowledge of their mother tongue into that of full-fledged language rather than some impoverished version in functional distribution, similar to the Low form in a diglossic situation.

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[5] The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette carried during our unusually warm winter a weather forecast which ran something like: "Finally a brumal forecast with snow and a low of fifteen degrees." Most readers won't know the word brumal but clearly the editor thought they would guess it. Yes, it means "wintry."

Finally, much of what is perceived as vocabulary teaching is not that at all but the teaching of concepts for which children then are taught labels--concepts like zero and its placement, and capital letters. It seems self-evident that it is easier to explain the zero concept in a language that children understand, but it is less clear that learning the label "mayuscula" is really any easier than the label "capital letter." The immersion programs also make clear that it is perfectly possible to go directly from concept to L2 labels in the L2 rather than the concept to L1 to L2 route which is often done in U.S. bilingual classrooms. This is especially true in subjects like geography and science which use many concrete props and so turn themselves into veritable language learning classes of the integrative approach (Cazden, 1979; Rodriguez, 1981).

We see then that the use of L1 and L2 in the classroom is problematic for the task of language acquisition and that a claim like "Using the students' native language for some instruction may better ensure that LEP students will be able to decode task expectations" (Tikunoff, 1983, pp. 4-5) is probably premature. McLaughlin comes to the same conclusion in his literature review:

> It would be premature to regard the issue (use of the first language) as settled. Most likely, decisions as to when and to what extent each of the bilingual child's two languages should be used in the classrooms depends on social, psychological, and linguistic factors. Some children, in some circumstances, need more support in their first language than others do. (McLaughlin, 1982, p. 34)

And that is exactly what the teachers, as reported in the SBIF case studies, actually do. The majority of their first language use is in translation to individual students who seem lost during instruction. And until we have more definite answers, that seems a practice they may as well continue.

Academic Learning Time (ALT) as a construct for the process of learning does not completely fit the process of language acquisition. The first step in language learning, the aural processing of linguistic bits of input, i.e., developing listening comprehension, does not necessarily result in productive participation if the result is a product that can be checked for accuracy. (This is not to say that it is not a very active, participatory process.) The length of this stage will vary from child to child. Hatch mentions the case of Alma who listened for eight months before she began to utter in English (1978, p. 12), and when she did, it was in far from correct English. The notion, common during the behavioral audiolingual days, that errors must be avoided in second language learning lest they become habits has long been superseded by the recognition that errors are inevitable by-products of language learning, indicative of progress and learning strategies (Corder, 1967; Dulay & Burt, 1974; Selinker, 1972; Selinker & Lamendella, 1981; Selinker, Swain, & Dumas, 1975; Valdman & Walz, 1975). Student accuracy rate as an aspect of ALT is not valid for the *process* of language acquisition. However, it is fair to say that the more ALT accumulated by a student during instruction, the more the student is learning. This is valid for language acquisition, *if* ALT is considered an indicator for evaluation purposes.

Feedback is as important in language learning as it is in any learning in a school setting. Actually, it may be even more important since feedback often is a way of clarifying and sorting input, meaningful input being at the very core of successful language learning. Let me illustrate with Wagner-Gough's data on Homer, an Assyrian speaker learning English. He is playing with his friend Mark, building something with blocks:

> Mark: Quit making it so tall!
> Homer: What is this sulta! (angry voice)
> What is this sulta!
> Mark: Don't make it so tall.
> Homer: (Whispering to himself) What is this sulta? (Then in Assyrian: I ask what sulta is. He says sulta is something. I say there's no such thing as sulta.)
>
> (Wagner-Gough, 1978, p.156)

Homer is processing "so tall" as "sulta" with consequent confusion and he actually asks for feedback (note his frustration). Mark does what most of us do when we are not understood the first time: merely repeats but to no avail. This is one instance where an instant translation would have been helpful but Homer needs more than the meaning, he also needs to learn the correct forms. In a classroom, where normal rules of social intercourse don't always hold, a good teacher would have done that for him.

In language learning, there is feedback on more than the formal aspects of language, namely on the functional use of language as communication, and many, including myself (Hatch, 1978; Krashen, 1981; Anderson, 1981; Paulston, 1974), hold that this is the more salient aspect of language acquisition. Homer knows well enough that Mark is making a demand, a request of some kind. In the classroom children get feedback on their requests all day long, e.g., permission to go to the bathroom, to sharpen a pencil, to read in the library corner. Making demands that you very much care to have approved is a highly motivating factor in language learning, and it is legitimate to wonder if such language learning occasions should be automatically ignored because requests are more readily accomplished in the L1. On the other hand, one certainly does not want to put some poor child through torture because he does not know how and does not dare to ask permission in English for going to the bathroom. Tact and common sense will take a good teacher further than any linguistic knowledge about the role of feedback in language acquisition today because our knowledge is minimal, especially when it comes to classroom techniques and procedures at the elementary level of language teaching.

Effective Instruction

Brophy's summary of effective teaching is hard to quarrel with:

> Learning gains are most impressive in classrooms in which students receive a great deal of instruction from and have a great deal of interaction with the teacher, especially in public lessons and recitations that are briskly paced but conducted at a difficulty level that allows consistent success. (1979, p.747)

These teaching behaviors are likely to be equally as true of second language teaching as of teaching in the mother tongue and I know of no evidence that contradicts Brophy. However, in second language acquisition there is an additional consideration. Language is mainly acquired through social interaction, and some of the best language "instructors" are in fact the other English-speaking students. Fry (1981) found that language use played an important role in social interaction and inclusion in the daily activities of classroom life. It was found that the students learned the language by being in the environment, interacting, and developing associations with English-speaking peers. As they learned more English, their interactions and associations with English-speaking students increased. They also became more active and involved in the classroom.

Fry's findings are supported by those of Johnson (1980) who found peer-tutoring and Milk (1980) who found small group settings efficient for language learning. Mack (1981) found that interaction between English-speakers and Spanish-speakers in first grade was more efficient for language acquisition than an ESL program.

Tikunoff (1982) mentions in his discussion of the teacher's need to communicate clearly (which is undeniably true) that instruction is complicated when a given class comprises both native English-speakers and LEP students. I would like to see this topic further pursued and studied. All indications are that in the long run it is an asset for the students while a temporary complication for the teacher. Such class compositions also solve the problem of bilingual education as a mechanism for segregation, an allegation that we don't take very seriously in the United States.[6] Mack (1981) does state in the conclusion to her study that segregation of second language learners in an ESL class where all children are beginners in the language is an unwise policy.

This topic also touches upon the matter of peer-teaching. The SBIF study does report some peer-teaching but I can't tell from the case studies in which language such instruction takes place nor what goes on from the viewpoint of language acquisition. I understand that the SBIF study is looking at, on the one hand, reading and mathematics and language development in various modes of instruction, including peer-teaching, and on the other hand, at ESL as a teacher-centered activity. In reality, as much if not more second language acquisition is likely to take place during a peer-lesson in mathematics as during an ESL drill-session. The point I am so laboriously making in this segment of the paper is that much L2 acquisition is *not* teacher-centered, that there is little data on peer-teaching in L2 acquisition in school settings, and that the relatively infrequent reporting of peer-teaching in the SBIF descriptive study should not be taken as an indication of its infrequent usage.

The literature on second-language learning is unanimous in supporting the enormous importance of motivation in L2 acquisition. On the whole, language learning or its absence is motivated by social forces that tend to have much stronger influence than any teaching methods or program types *per se* (Paulston, 1980b). One of the strongest arguments for bilingual education lies exactly in its motivating counteraction of negative social forces, such as with the American Indian children on the Navajo reservation. There is little socio-economic motivation for them to learn English, and in fact they learn more English in a bilingual program than in an all-English program, as Rosier and Holm's (1980) study documents. The other noteworthy issue of that study is the fact that it took the program six years to bring the children to national norms. Bilingual education is not a quick fix.

The nature of the SBIF descriptive study precludes a concern with extrinsic motivation and instead examines intrinsic motivation. It is striking how the students work for prizes and premios and points. My favorite is Mrs. Lu's "swinging class" (one of the SBIF case studies, see Guthrie, 1981) who had accumulated some 50 million points. You wonder why the children would fall for it, but then I think of the thousands of adult Americans racking up points on their Ataris and think it is probably not very different. Keeping children working on task is very much the art of teaching and I take off my hat to Mrs. Lu.

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[6] This paper is not the place for a discussion of the reasons for this lack of concern, but basically segregation has been an anti-mother tongue argument and so dismissed by bilingual education proponents. Having recently seen bilingual education programs used for segregation, I am sensitive to the issue (Paulston, 1983).

But we should not ignore other indicators of successful bilingual education programs. Students in bilingual education programs have fewer behavior problems (Albino-Cordero, 1981), achieve at higher levels (Chavez, 1980; Dimas, 1981), have higher educational aspirations (Caples-Osorio, 1979), and have higher attendance and lower drop-out rates (Dimas, 1981) than students in mainstream programs. These factors are all motivational in nature, and they make a lot more sense for evaluating bilingual education than do reading scores and syntax measures. They make clear that language acquisition is not the most important aspect of bilingual education.

The next point becomes controversial and I shall say from the beginning that I see the question but not the answer. One of the SBIF descriptive study's findings dealt with accuracy: "Students who are responding incorrectly to a task need immediate feedback concerning those responses" (Tikunoff, 1983, p. 12). I have touched earlier on how linguists see errors as an inevitable by-product of second language acquisition. This leaves the question of what teachers are supposed to do with errors in the classroom. One argument is immediate feedback and correction, as the study findings suggest. The other end of the pole is argued by Terrell (1981) who claims that children will learn only if they feel secure affectively and that therefore error correction is ineffectual and tension creating and that children should be left alone to experiment creatively with the second language.

Our search of the literature failed to turn up any experimental data on the role of error correction in L2 acquisition in bilingual education, so I shall have to turn to some anecdotal information. Some years ago, I was interested in comparing the student work in the immersion programs in Culver City (Campbell, 1972; Cohen, 1974) and in Toronto. The Culver City program did not believe in correction while the Toronto programs did. The French of the Toronto children was remarkably much more accurate than the Spanish of the Culver City children, and my impression was that the difference was due to years of feedback and correction.

Another anecdote. As I was looking through Carlos' folder in Senora Olga's classroom, I saw a shopping list of groceries with the word for "rice" misspelled "aroz" and left unmarked. I asked her why she hadn't corrected it. "Well," she said, "he is so overjoyed that he can write now that I didn't want to discourage him. Besides, it was really an exercise in decimals and they had to go to the pretend store and add and make change. It didn't seem important."

Correction probably is helpful at times as it serves to clarify language input. Also, errors have a tendency to fossilize. At other times correction will create a tension with motivation and the need for success and interfere with communication. For now we will simply chalk it up to the art of teaching to be able to make the right choice.

The guidelines we use for correction in the English Language Institute with adults probably are useful for elementary classrooms, too. If the error is directly part of the teaching point, like the spelling of plurals or forming verb tenses or using capital letters, it is helpful to the children to provide immediate feedback and correction. Clearly error correction need not be tension creating, and clearly students make errors in their L1 as well; errors and correction are part of school life. But when errors occur incidentally to what is being taught, and they don't interfere with communication or classroom procedures, then I think like Senora Olga that they are not very important and can be safely ignored. As usual, tact and common sense will tell us more than research will on this issue at present.

Effective instruction entails that students understand what is going on. One way teachers accomplish that is by using the students' mother tongue. Ramirez (1980) discusses in a review of the literature the many possible combinations of functions for which a teacher may use two languages in the classroom. The SBIF findings suggest that good classroom teachers code-switch in a concurrent approach to bilingual education, and I find these statements misleading.[7] Conversational "code-switching" is a technical term in sociolinguistics, and it means a lot more than the occasional use of two languages. It refers to the constant mixing of two language varieties, frequently intra-sententially, and looks like this:

> Por eso cada, you know it's nothing to be proud of, porque yo no estoy proud of it, as a matter of fact I hate it, pero viene Vierne y Sabado

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[7] The various SBIF reports vary in the terms they use to refer to the alternate use of two codes in the classroom. Some of the case studies use "code-switching," while the summary of findings uses "language alternation." I am here addressing general usage and attempting to sort out just what takes place in the classroom when teachers use two languages.

> yo estoy, tu me ve hacia mi, sola with a acqui solita, a veces ue Frankie me deja, you know a stick or something.[8] (Labov, cited by Hudson, 1980, p. 57)

It is true that Puerto Ricans code-switch a lot (Williams, 1980; Zentella, 1981) as do Chicanos (McClure, n.d.; Gingras, 1974; Hernandez-Chavez, Cohen, & Beltramo, 1975), but it is also true that the educated norm frowns on such usage in formal settings, like school, especially in Spanish. As Williams (1980) points out, the controversy over code-switching has parallels to the controversy over Black English vernacular in the educational setting.

Much more important than the issue of formal versus informal language style is the matter of clear comprehensible input in an utterance marked by constant code-switching. I find the paragraph above hard to process, and the little evidence we have suggests that so do the children (Legarreta-Marcaida, 1975). It is definitely premature at this time to endorse code-switching as a standard technique for bilingual teachers, especially as I think it is a misinterpretation of the data.

It seems from the case studies that the teachers used the L1 as an auxiliary language not to switch but to translate:

> Some students she addressed in Chinese, usually after the same information had been presented in English. (Guthrie, 1981, p. 115)

> The teacher anticipated having to use Spanish for purposes of clarification with a few Spanish-dominant students. (Villegas & Romero, 1981, p. 171).

Half of these utterances are directed to individual students (Tikunoff, 1983). This cannot be considered code-switching in any technical meaning of the term. Furthermore, during the Spanish lesson, there is no mixing of languages, the point being that if you code-switch you do it both in Spanish and in English. Now there is no doubt that bilingual teachers use both L1 and English in the classroom and occasionally feel guilty about this practice, but it is not helpful to anyone to mislabel a sensible procedure with a label for a frequently stigmatized language usage and then endorse the package as the Concurrent Approach (Jacobson, 1981), about which incidentally I have serious reservations. Ramirez (1980) points out that the ethnographic studies of language use in bilingual classrooms really don't tell us very much about their instructional effectiveness. It would be very useful knowledge, but it is not enough to say that teachers code-switch. Admittedly this area is at the edge of our knowledge and there is not even a term for changing to the mother tongue for purposes of translation, reiteration and clarification.[9] The main point is that code-switching does not reiterate but merely continues the narrative; the teachers do reiterate. The students, on the other hand, do code-switch in order to:

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[8] In contrast to situational code-switching where either the change of situation will demand a change of code as appropriate, or the change of code marks that the situation has changed. Teachers switch to Spanish to mark the beginning of a Spanish lesson but once in Spanish they don't switch: "When Spanish was the subject of instruction, then of course (my emphasis) the Spanish language was used exclusively" (Fisher, Tikunoff, Gee, Phillips, 1981, p. 43).

> Control the behavior of participants in a group, to clarify and emphasize aspects of their communication, to attract the attention of listeners and bid for the floor, to tease others and engage in humor, to accommodate the linguistic needs and preferences of different listeners in the group, and to teach vocabulary and expressions in the second language. (Williams, 1980, abstract)

Only the last function is similar to the teachers' use of alternate codes and those utterances were collected during English-as-a-Second Language peer teaching situations.[10]

Effective instruction focuses on language development, both L1 and L2. And this brings us to the issue of ESL instruction. The integrative approach to language development is supported both by experience (Swain & Lapkin, 1981) and by theory (Krashen, 1981). The Canadian immersion programs were founded in the belief that young students will never learn a second language well unless it becomes the medium of instruction (Lambert & Tucker, 1972), and the experience so far has borne this out. But English is the medium of instruction in the United States, so the same argument does not quite apply. We use the distinction between immersion and submersion programs (Cohen & Swain, 1976) in which the latter programs ignore the fact that the children do not know English, operating in a sink or swim fashion. The immersion programs are maintenance programs with the instruction split half-and-half in French and English. Most U.S. immersion programs are misnomers that operate only in English with a combination language arts/ESL approach. It remains to be seen if a program for middle-class, mainstream Canadian children can sucessfully be adopted to the needs of children of subordinate ethnic groups in the United States. The bilingual programs also use a modified language arts approach combined with an ESL component, and the research design of the SBIF descriptive study does not really allow any distinctions to be made about the efficiency of one vis-a-vis the other.

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[9] I suggest code-alternation, in contradistinction to code-switching.

[10] On the other hand, Thomas (1980) found that students who only speak mixed English or mixed Spanish (Pochismo, Tex-Mex), which is conceptually different from code-switching, experience difficulty in acquiring English and Spanish reading skills when reading is taught in a standard way.

However, we do believe on the basis of other experience (Foreign Language in the Elementary School; the immersion programs) that an integrative approach is necessary for language learning at the elementary level. That belief does not necessarily invalidate ESL instruction. As a matter of fact, any language arts development in English in a bilingual program is plain and simple instruction in English as a second language. All the activities of vocabulary development in English which permeate the SBIF case studies are ESL at its most elementary level and very successful it is, too. Why then this conceptual confusion?

I think there are two basic issues going on here. One is historical, where in the early days of bilingual education in the United States, ESL somehow became identified and synonymous with the audiolingual method of language teaching, which at that time was being discredited in Academia. The second refers to the content of language instruction where ESL stands for an exclusively formal, rule-oriented and grammatically focused approach to language teaching. I will discuss the two issues separately.

Rather than question whether an integrative approach is better than ESL instruction, one does better to ask whether children in a bilingual program (which of course means an integrative approach) stand to profit from a formal component in language learning. Some will answer that negatively. Terrell (1981) claims that sentences that are taught to children to illustrate rules of grammar will not help them use the rule in speech. Others reserve judgment.

McLaughlin states:

> As children mature, however, they are more capable of dealing abstractly with language. Older children may profit from instruction that involves rule-isolation and attention to grammatical usage (Canale & Swain, 1980;

> Gadalla, 1981). There has been little research on this particular issue, but anecdotal evidence suggests that older children do make use of grammatical information and profit from instruction that focuses on grammatical usage. (1982, pp. 30-31)

I think Terrell's position is overstated. In fact, learning to read in the mother tongue contains a multitude of rule-oriented activities, like long and short vowels and the like, and there is evidence that children switch from a semantic language orientation to formal analysis about the time they enter school (Galambos, 1983). If children can process rule-oriented explanations in the L1, they probably can do it in the L2 as well, but as McLaughlin says, there is little research on this issue. Until we get such research, common sense would seem to dictate an integrative approach with a formal ESL component, and that is, of course just what the SBIF teachers do.

Another question is whether a modified language arts program for ESL purposes can serve in a monolingual-English program in lieu of bilingual education. The answer to that question is the core argument for the bilingual education movement in the United States. This paper is not the place for an exhaustive answer, and the issue is more complicted than we thought ten years ago. Baker and deKanter (1981) in their much discussed report argue for an ESL approach on the basis of evaluative data from bilingual education programs. I have argued repeatedly that one cannot just examine the programs but that one must also take into account the social conditions (Paulston, 1975; 1980a). It seems, at this stage of our knowledge, that in social circumstances which do not favor rapid language shift[11], children from subordinate ethnic groups at the lower rungs of the social structure in fact do better in bilingual programs. Swain and Cummins (1979) support the same argument but on the basis of linguistic factors (Cummins, 1976; 1982). So do, of course, the SBIF descriptive study findings.

The last issue of ESL to consider is teaching methodology. I was surprised to run into audiolingual techniques (like choral drills of substitution, repetition, and transformation) of language teaching in the SBIF case studies, since the audiolingual method has been so totally discredited on theoretical and empirical grounds that I thought it was extinct. I was even more surprised to find some twenty teachers at a workshop in Texas assure me unanimously that such practices in fact worked in the classroom and that the children learn from them. The mere thought of doing mechanical substitution drills with elementary school children would cause Krashen and Terrell (1982) to shudder as it does me. On the other hand, I am loathe to contradict the judgment of experienced classroom teachers. Once more, I would like to emphasize that we know very little about language teaching methodology at the elementary level. (For practical considerations, see Pialorsi, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1976; Von Maltitz, 1975.) At the adult level (or post-puberty or post-critical period) there is general agreement on a communicative approach to language teaching[12] (Brumfit & Johnson, 1981; Canale & Swain, 1980; Candlin, 1975; Munby, 1978; Roulet & Holec, 1976; Widdowson, 1978; Wilkins, 1976) where the major argument is that the focus of language teaching should be on language use rather than language form. This is, of course, what happens in an integrative approach, but it also can (and I would add should) happen in a good ESL program (Murphy, 1978). In my opinion, the ESL component of bilingual education programs has been seriously neglected. There are occasions when a bilingual education program is not possible, such as when the children come from multiple language backgrounds or speak an unwritten language. At such times, a good ESL program is a lot more helpful than a regular program (Scudder, 1979). There is also the question of age. Huang (1980) found in his study of the impact of bilingual education programs in high school that the majority of teachers believed that the ESL program would be more effective than a bilingual education program in assisting children of limited English proficiency to improve English language skills. We cannot responsibly just criticize an ESL approach and then dismiss it from our concerns, especially as ESL may be more effective than we are likely to give it credit for. Escamilla (1978) in A Comparison of English and Spanish Syntactic Language Development in Young Spanish-Speaking Mexican-Americans in Maintenance Bilingual/Bicultural and Pull-out ESL Programs found that there was no significant group difference between first grade children in maintenance programs and those children in pull-out ESL programs in English language development. Baker (1978) compared two approaches to teaching prereading concepts to Spanish-dominant children in which one approach used Spanish and English alternatively (transitional approach) and the other consisted of Spanish reading and an aural-oral ESL component. She concluded that the transitional approach may be viewed as a more efficient method since it required half the instructional time and achieved equal gains. But the additional time is only an additional 10 to 15 minutes a day, and I find it surprising that the two approaches show equal gains. Then there is Mack's (1981) study which compared a first grade ESL class grade with a modified monolingual-English class with some Spanish-speaking students. The ESL class scored higher on the Bilingual Syntax Measure.

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[11] As they do not for the Chicanos, the Navajos, and the Puerto Ricans.

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[12] There are of course also the so-called humanistic methods, but so far people have had the good sense not to suggest that The Silent Way or Suggestopedia or Community Counseling/Learning be used in elementary schools.

Escamilla (1978) and Baker (1978) have produced the only two recent dissertations we could find that actually compared a bilingual education program with regular, unmodified monolingual-English programs. I suspect that this dearth of research is founded on ideological grounds. Many bilingual education proponents regard ESL with misgivings. I would expect that a good ESL program, with a bilingual teacher who code-alternated in English and the children's L1 for purposes of explanation, would be quite efficient for English learning purposes. That is, after all, how children in Europe learn English (Freudenstein, 1979). But we don't really know. Until we know more about an ESL approach, we need to be judicious in our conclusions. We gain nothing with unsupportable claims.

Conclusions

In this paper I have identified some issues from Part I of the SBIF descriptive study that I think significantly relate to second language acquisition in a school setting. Foremost are the perceived goals of (a) the children's learning of English and (b) the affirmation of L1 and L2 cultural values. The SBIF descriptive study's emphasis on the importance of effective teaching and classroom management is supported. Accuracy rate as a component of ALT is questioned for the process of language learning. Some other features discussed are feedback, peers as language teachers, motivation, error correction, and code-switching versus code-alternation. The paper closes with a discussion of the integrative approach and ESL. The overall conclusion is that we know surprisingly little about how children learn a second language in school.

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CHAPTER SIX

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SBIF DESCRIPTIVE STUDY FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

George M. Blanco

When federal funding began for bilingual education programs, teacher education in the form of inservice education was largely the responsibility of the local schools. To carry out this function, the demonstration projects sponsored by Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act relied on their own personnel, on consultants from institutions of higher education (IHEs), and companies from the private sector. To make a significant impact on bilingual education, however, preservice programs had to be established, since the IHEs are the only recognized institutions empowered to grant degrees and teacher certification credentials. Those involved in bilingual education in the beginning clearly understood that without the participation of the IHEs, an obviously important constituent in the educational structure, the quality of bilingual education would be negatively affected. As a result, in 1974 the federal government, through the Title VII amendments, provided for the funding of teacher preparation at the IHE level.

Although some IHE bilingual education programs existed prior to federal legislation, the new funding served as a catalyst to encourage the establishment of many new programs throughout the country. Recognizing the need for bilingual education IHE faculty, the Title VII Fellowship Program further initiated many additional doctoral programs. A structure resulted to provide local education agencies (LEAs) with properly trained teachers who would implement bilingual education programs.

The establishment of teacher training programs at the IHE level was essentially a new venture, since there was no precedent or model to follow in the United States. Drawing on existing resources, IHEs put together teacher training programs which were usually within the departments of education or at least had some connection with this field. In some cases, bilingual education was integrated into the existing structure which prepared teachers at the elementary and secondary school levels. In some cases, however, bilingual education was looked upon as a new fad and was not given a place within established teacher preparation programs.

During the relatively short time bilingual education has been operating in the IHEs, some research has been done on the preparation of teachers. Most of this research has been in the form of doctoral dissertations which have been an outcome of the Title VII Fellowship Program, and they have made an important contribution to the field. Major studies requiring resources that go beyond the normally expected scope of dissertations have come about as a result of federal support of bilingual education research. One such study is the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) descriptive study (Tikunoff & Vazquez-Faria, 1982; Tikunoff, 1983). Although the SBIF study did not deal directly with teacher preparation, it has strong implications for training teachers. Its design, instrumentation, methodology, and analysis make its findings all the more credible. Its findings have strong implications for ensuring that bilingual education be an integral part of regular education at all levels. To explore the relationship of the SBIF descriptive study to teacher education, I will operate under five assumptions. First, bilingual education and regular all-English education are essentially the same, except for the use of two languages and cultures in the instructional program. Second, effective bilingual education at the LEA level should be an integral part of the regular school program; this idea is similarly reflected at all levels, including the IHE. Third, significant instructional features are probably generic. Fourth, all teachers will eventually come in contact with limited English proficient (LEP) students. Fifth, for students to participate effectively in classroom instructional activities, they must understand what the teacher says, what product is expected of them, and what the finished product should look like.

Teacher Preparation for Monolingual English-Speaking Teachers

Given the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural heterogeneity of our society, it is very likely that all teachers will sooner or later deal with LEP students. We would be remiss if we did not emphasize this fact in our teacher preparation programs. This notion has received the attention and endorsement of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). As its title indicates, this agency evaluates and accredits teacher education programs at the IHE level. NCATE has come forward with a Standard on Multicultural Education. In its description, NCATE states:

> Multicultural education is preparation for the social, political, and economic realities that individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters. . . . This preparation provides a process by which an individual develops competencies for perceiving, believing,

> evaluating, and behaving in differential cultural settings. Thus, multicultural education is viewed as an on-going assessment process to help institutions and individuals become more responsive to the human condition, individual cultural integrity, and cultural pluralism in society. (NCATE, 1979, p. 4)

Language Training

Recognition of the multicultural makeup of our student population by NCATE is certainly a step in the right direction. Teacher education programs accredited by NCATE are required to expose trainees to historical and contemporary issues related to various cultural groups and to the notion of cultural pluralism. It is my opinion, however, that the NCATE standard falls short in not recognizing and emphasizing the one element which is vital to the education of LEP students--language. Possessing a native language other than English is the major distinguishing feature of the LEP student, yet it is neglected in training programs which prepare teachers for this segment of the student population.

Our whole concept for describing or dealing with the LEP child is essentially linguistic. For example, we speak of the LEP student. To place the student in the proper class, we administer language proficiency or language dominance tests. The entry/exit criteria are based on our estimation of the students' English language proficiency in relation to their proficiency in the home language. The transitional/maintenance dilemma deals specifically with language.

Thus, the whole notion of dealing effectively with LEP students is determined by the English language proficiency in relation to their home language. Language is the common denominator in our terminology, description, and prescriptions of this segment of the student population. Yet, the whole idea of language at all instructional levels is one directional, i.e., overwhelmingly toward English. The home language is usually tolerated, but its use is not encouraged either on the part of the students or the teachers.

The implications of language as a central issue for instruction of LEP students are important to my discussion of the SBIF descriptive study findings in relation to teacher education. If we accept the concept of individual student differences, one important characteristic is that some students speak languages other than English, just as they bring with them certain intellectual, linguistic, and sociocultural strengths. Intellectual and cognitive evaluation is a generally accepted practice in our schools, but linguistic evaluations in the form of language proficiency/dominance testing is relatively new, having been promoted and often required by state legislative mandate. If language is one of the important characteristics that students bring with them, it is incumbent on teachers and, thereby, on teacher educators to be concerned with it in more than a perfunctory manner.

In the past, bilingual credentials were granted to monolingual English-speaking teachers on the basis of short-term language institutes. Instead, I support establishing a second-language requirement in all teacher education programs, not for the purpose of meeting bilingual education credential requirements, but rather for the purpose of exposing all future teachers to a second language and culture of their choice.

From a psychological perspective, learning another language can at the very least make teachers somewhat sympathetic to the LEP child as he attempts to express himself in a language other than his native one (L1). Studying a second language also carries with it the advantage of making teachers aware of the fact that the learning of English by the LEP student is most likely not a simple one-to-one vocabulary correspondence from L1. Perhaps teachers also will learn that even one-to-one correspondences carry with them different psychological and sociocultural meanings in English and in the language under study, thereby eradicating false notions, such as the idea that Spanish is a relatively simple language when compared to English.

In structuring second-language courses for prospective teachers, a more specialized program of studies than what is usually available is in order. While elements of regular second-language courses would be useful (grammar, phonology, semantics), a more specialized focus is required. Second-language classes usually present material to be learned in the context of imaginary or contrived "everyday" (and usually foreign) contexts. A more realistic approach would focus on relevant items for classroom use, such as the pronunciation of given and family names of the target cultural group, classroom, home, and community terminology and expressions, etc. Exposure to audio and video samples of typical children's speech would reduce the initial cultural and linguistic shock experienced by both teachers and students in understanding and communicating with each other at the most basic level. The use of children's literature from the target culture would not only provide valuable linguistic course content, but it would also familiarize future teachers with available reading materials for eventual use in their own classrooms. Likewise, reading and writing components in a second language should concentrate on those elements that bilingual education teachers deal with on a daily basis.

By learning a second language in the teacher training context, monolingual English-speaking teachers will become aware of and obtain linguistic skills and knowledge in order to help their LEP students on a daily basis. In addition, a closer professional relationship between monolingual and bilingual education teachers may result by virtue of mutual knowledge of each other's instructional languages and materials.

Cultural Information

The cultural component of the teacher preparation program should emphasize the historical, social, and political aspects of the target cultural groups. It would also incorporate those elements identified by NCATE which would give teachers some knowledge and hopefully some sensitivity toward children from cultures other than the mainstream. In many cases, bilingual education programs stress the folkloric and culinary aspects of culture to the exclusion of everything else. I agree that these elements are important and their inclusion in the instructional program represents a significant breakthrough in establishing a link between the home and school. We should now be ready, however, to take another step in the preparation of both monolingual and bilingual teachers.

Saville-Troike (1978) makes excellent recommendations regarding the use of culture in the anthropological sense. She strongly recommends that educators ask information-seeking questions about twenty cultural topics ranging from the family and the life cycle to history, traditions, expectations, and aspirations. She further makes suggestions for incorporating these elements in the instructional program. Given the NCATE Multicultural Standard and the more specific SBIF descriptive study findings, it is incumbent on teacher education programs to provide prospective teachers not only with anthropological information about specific cultures, but also with training in ethnography. This would develop in teachers the necessary skills to seek cultural information and to analyze it for use in dealing with students on both a personal and an instructional level.

Even monolingual-English teachers can learn enough about the target culture to use similar strategies effectively. The IHE can certainly teach some basic knowledge about the target culture. It is amazing that today, for example, we still have schools that anglicize students' names. It is equally surprising that we have so many female students who are called "María" at school, who are known by their true or full name at home. (I refer here to the common practice of shortening names like María Dolores, María del Carmen, María del Pilar to María.) At home, more than likely, these students would be called if not by their complete names, then probably Dolores, Carmen, Pilar. Ironically, in the mainstream Southern culture, double names are quite common and they are rarely shortened: Betty Sue, Linda Belle, Jim Bob, etc. Changing a student's name without parental permission is not only damaging to the child's self-identity, but the action results in tampering with a person's legal name. Name selection, name meanings and use in a variety of cultures should be an important element of teacher education, if for no other reason than to help make the minority child's transition into school as smooth as possible.

Teacher Preparation for Bilingual Education Teachers

The SBIF descriptive study framework strongly suggests that effective bilingual education instruction is essentially the same as effective all-English instruction, except for the following:

1. Teachers in the sample used both L1 and L2 for instruction. The use of two languages ensures that all children in the classroom will receive instruction in the language that communicates best. Particularly for LEP students who have no English or little English proficiency, this allows access to instruction. Without this, it is unlikely that these students could learn.

2. Teachers focused some instructional time on English language development. The strategies used are designed to develop English language proficiency while concurrently ensuring that LEP students will have access to regular instruction in the content areas so that they don't fall behind while learning English.

3. Of the 58 teachers in the SBIF Part I sample, 55 were both bilingual and bicultural. In the other three classrooms, paraprofessionals with these characteristics were present. Preliminary analysis of the descriptions of instruction for teachers in the sample reveals frequent use of behavior which appears to be culturally relevant and specific for the ethnolinguistic group of LEP students in a given classroom.

Language Training

These elements indicate a slightly different or specialized preparation for the bilingual education teachers as compared to that of the monolingual teachers. Although second language training is advocated for all teachers, the bilingual education teacher necessarily needs more advanced and in-depth preparation in a second language. On the surface, a language requirement for bilingual education teachers seems logical. However, state and sometimes city certification requirements coupled with the IHE's own graduation or programmatic course requirements makes the qualitative implementation of a language component somewhat difficult. To assume that all native speakers of the target language can automatically and easily instruct in the LEP students' home language without prior schooling is quite unrealistic and naive. Such an assumption implies that the future teachers (a) have an adequate command of several registers in both L1 and L2 in numerous domains; (b) can express themselves orally and in writing in L1 and L2 in dealing with topics that are likely to be in the school curriculum; and (c) are able to read with direct comprehension in L1 and L2 such items as teachers' guides and general curriculum materials.

In many instances, this assumption is not the case. Bilingualism tends to become somewhat specialized according to domain. "Persons who are equally conversant in both languages and in all situations . . . are very rare" (Hartmann & Stork, 1976, p.27). Cummins (1980) posits the notion of children's proficiency in terms of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), which include accent, oral fluency, sociolinguistic competence, and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP), which is related to the development of literacy skills in L1 and L2.

I suggest that the same notion is applicable to many teachers who have not had the opportunity to have formal schooling in L1. More often than not, the native speakers of a language are perfectly comfortable in communicating in non-academic circumstances through the medium of this language. When required to teach academic concepts as presented in many L1 textbooks, these teachers often feel less than adequate or comfortable. This phenomenon should not be too surprising, since it simply reflects the sociolinguistic reality in which many minority languages exist (Hansen & Johnson, 1981). Native speakers of L1 are often not encouraged to take formal training in their mother tongue prior to entry into the IHE. For example, in one of the SBIF descriptive study case studies the teacher indicates that she had finally learned the value of L1. Ironically, it is often the non-native speakers of L1 who are attracted to the field of bilingual education, by virtue of having studied this language formally in elementary or secondary school.

Given the many demands and requirements of most teacher preparation programs, the addition of language courses is likely to be met with some resistance if not outright opposition. An obvious solution to this dilemma would be to teach some of the required professional courses in the target language(s) of the LEP students to be taught. This suggestion, however, is not without its own problems. Faculty in the department of education normally are not fluent in a language other than English, and faculty members who are native speakers of a language other than English may not have had formal training in that language. IHE programs training a variety of language groups still need to use English as a lingua franca. The offering of several language-specific sections of professional courses would not be cost effective and, therefore, not feasible. Given the departmentalized nature of most IHEs, utilizing faculty from foreign language departments is not looked on favorably. Furthermore, such faculty members usually do not have the background required to teach professional education courses.

That language training is central to the preparation of bilingual education teachers is patently clear. And the language training must be sufficiently specialized and advanced so as to permit teachers to mediate effective instruction in L1 and L2. Teachers must be at ease with materials written in L1 if they are to be effective. Native speakers who are training to become bilingual education teachers and who have had little or no formal training in their native language may find themselves at a disadvantage. Granted, in many if not most cases, these individuals may have a decided advantage over their peers who have learned the program's target language as a foreign language.

Native speakers of the target language sometimes must be convinced that they have a better command of their native language than they may have been led to believe. In all likelihood, they may have had negative experiences as a result of being exposed to formal L1 courses at the high school or IHE level which did not take advantage of their native command of the language. Equally negative may have been the prevailing societal attitudes toward their home language. Whatever the cause, it is clear that such students stand to gain a great deal by being provided with specialized L1 instruction capitalizing on their existing command of the language. In most cases, their L1 needs may be categorized as follows:

1. Learning the necessary technical vocabulary and terminology to teach subjects such as social studies, mathematics, science, reading and language arts.

2. Improving their reading skills so that they are comfortable in reading teachers' manuals and student materials written in L1.

3. Improving their writing skills in order to be able to write lessons and letters or notices to parents.

4. Acquiring sufficient fluency to conduct a sustained explanation or conversation about a typical school related topic.

Although it might at first seem unrealistic, teachers ought to be able to perform at a higher level in L1 than is usually expected in a normal teaching situation. One reason for this lies in the area of attitudes held by educators and society at large toward languages other than English, particularly marked languages and dialects. While teachers may wholeheartedly embrace the concept of bilingual education, the use of L1 only in formal instructional activities and not with colleagues, for example, will create or reinforce the students' reluctance to use this language. That negative language attitudes (whether explicit or tacit) are passed on to students from society at large is well documented (Hansen & Johnson, 1981).

The ability of teachers to perform adequately, to feel comfortable and ultimately to show equal respect for both languages in the bilingual education program will go far in their students' eventual learning of English. As Lily Wong Fillmore states elsewhere in this volume, full development of L1 is vital to the children's overall conceptual growth. Cummins (1979) agrees, stating that L2 attainment is ultimately a function of the development of L1. According to Merino, Politzer and Ramirez (1979), the teacher's Spanish proficiency is related to the student's achievement in Spanish and English.

The teachers' role in the instructional process is significant, since it is they who direct the content, pace of presentation, and the quality of the cognitive, affective, and linguistic material to which their students are exposed. Unless teachers receive the training to perform at a relatively sophisticated linguistic level, however, it is doubtful that they will be able to provide this type of instruction for their students. Schools that have teachers educated in Puerto Rico and other Spanish-speaking countries, for example, are indeed fortunate.

As was indicated earlier, language training at the IHE level is often met with administrative problems. Although the problems are certainly not insurmountable, I would propose the following for the purpose of giving present and prospective teachers additional language training:

1. Language institutes, similar to those funded under the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), could be provided. These could be offered during the summer months. "Pure" language courses (grammar, composition, oral fluency) could be the focus, but with a notable departure from those presently available in most foreign language departments. The content would be geared toward the bilingual education classroom, rather than toward a literary perspective. Courses dealing with methodology, materials, policy, etc., could also be offered in the target language. From an administrative point of view, the institute concept has the advantage of bringing together IHE faculty from the foreign language and the education departments, who might otherwise remain separated by their respective academic appointments during the regular school year.

2. Training modules written in L1 could be used for inservice training under the guidance of qualified instructors. As with the institutes, one type of module could stress the mechanics of language and another would focus on content to be taught in L1. Ideally, the two types of modules or institutes should be mutually supportive.

Training in ESL Using an Integrative Approach

Although the SBIF descriptive study examined programs that had classes in English as a Second Language (ESL), it was also found that effective teachers integrated English language development with regular instruction in all subject areas. The implications of these findings for teacher training are important.

Teacher trainers need to stress the development of strategies by which teachers become knowledgeable and skillfull in emphasizing, explaining, and providing practice in those linguistic elements that are troublesome or that hinder the students' comprehension of the lesson--all within the context of instruction in regular academic subjects. This approach should not be confused with the alternation of L1 and L2 where the primary purpose is to ensure a grasp of the subject matter and full participation in the educational process. The focus here is to take advantage of a given lesson to provide students with experiences designed to expand their general linguistic repertoire in the areas of vocabulary, grammatical structures, pronunciation, and overall accuracy of discourse. This strategy is probably the main difference between the submersion or "sink-or-swim" approach used before bilingual education came into being, which not only prevented students from understanding subject matter, but also severely limited them in acquiring adequate English language proficiency.

Immersion programs in the U.S. have been praised for providing mainstream students with a more naturalistic environment for acquiring L2 proficiency than is possible within the context of most foreign language classrooms. The settings for the SBIF descriptive study were not immersion programs, but teachers should nonetheless be aware that the integrative approach has some of their advantages without some of their limitations. Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) indicate that a limitation of immersion programs lies in the lack of peers who are native speakers of the target language. In the SBIF descriptive study sample, as with most bilingual education programs in the U.S., L1 students came in contact with native English-speaking classmates on a daily basis. While this contact is extremely important in providing L1 students with English language models in addition to the teacher, the use of the integrative approach further enhances students' language proficiency. This practice serves a double purpose: (a) it promotes comprehension of the subject matter on the part of the LEP students through the use of synonyms, antonyms, definitions, paraphrasing, graphics, etc.; and (b) it provides students with ample opportunities to be exposed to and to develop the language of the classroom, or what Cummins (1980) calls cognitive-academic language proficiency (CALP). The focus of this approach, therefore, is on the message rather than the form and as such it provides as natural a context as possible for acquiring English language proficiency within a classroom setting.

By advocating that prospective teachers be trained in the use of an integrative approach for ESL, I am not suggesting the elimination of regular second-language methods courses. Rather, I would suggest that these courses be modified to include strategies that use academic subject matter as a vehicle for teaching a second language.

Cultural Information

In the area of culture, I would reiterate the recommendations made earlier for monolingual teachers. Bilingual education teachers should break away from the almost exclusive use of interpreting culture in folkloric terms and attempt to emphasize an anthropological view. Teacher educators then should lead the way so that teachers are equipped to utilize cultural information in a more realistic and representative way. Speaking to the issue of the potential contributions of anthropology to education, Kimball (1981) states:

> Some portion of the failure to influence the educational enterprise may be attributable to the absence of an adequate assessment of the problem. In particular, certain organizational aspects have been ignored. There have been no studies, for example, of teacher training institutions and their related laboratory schools, of state departments of education, of the Office of Education in Washington, of the operation of international organizations, or agencies operating on an international level. (pp. 235-236)

Kimball goes on to say that the limited influence of anthropology on education is not a sign of rejection, but rather the inability to inform educators of the desirable results which can be obtained using an anthropological approach.

The SBIF descriptive study indicates that effective teachers use elements of the students' culture in their instructional programs in three ways:

1. By responding to and using L1 cultural referents to enhance instruction. The New York City site reported that teachers mediated effective instruction by using words of endearment ("cosita," "mi hijito," etc.) which the children are apt to hear at home. These teachers also used other behaviors common in the children's homes, e.g., touching, putting their arms around the children to praise, comfort or encourage them, and generally exhibiting proxemics found in a Hispanic environment.

2. By using rules of discourse from the L1 culture to organize instruction. In this regard, it was found that teachers allowed Hispanic students to accomplish certain classroom tasks by cooperating with each other and allowing them to talk

to one another during this process. Teachers should learn as much as possible about the L1 rules of discourse. Another example that can be cited in this area has to do with the rules governing degrees of formality in addressing the children and in having them address the teacher, e.g., the tú/usted distinction.

3. By observing values and norms of the L1 culture. Teachers need to know, for example, how members of the L1 culture feel about pets and animals in general. Many Hispanic groups place a very different value on household pets (if they tolerate them at all) than does the mainstream U.S. society. To give the classroom hamster the same name as a student might be highly offensive.

Teachers who have been raised in the target culture may use this behavior naturally, or they may have to be told that such behavior is encouraged in the classroom. Others who have not been raised in the target culture will have to learn the cultural elements that promote a positive classroom environment. Again, Saville-Troike's (1978) paradigm applies, since it allows teachers to obtain information about various cultural groups.

The personalistic, and I would add, empathic approach shown by the study teachers is to be admired and emulated in teacher training. Although we would want teachers to be empathic, the development of this trait is illusive at best. According to Hughes and Hukill (1982), empathy has to do with "a focus on providing support to others in distress on a one-to-one basis. While not related to organizational or status concerns, empathy does seem concerned with accommodating individual differences" (p. 18). In their study with monolingual English-speakers, these researchers found that empathy, flexibility and self-esteem were correlated with high ratings of performance of student teachers. Yet, of these three constructs, empathy was a consistent predictor of the student-teaching performance outcomes: "Student teachers who initially rated themselves as highly empathic individuals were given high performance ratings by themselves as well as by the cooperating teachers and university supervisors" (Hughes & Hukill, 1982, p.60). Empathy appears to be an important characteristic for teachers. The teachers in the SBIF descriptive study certainly exhibited this trait and they exhibited it well. For LEP students this support is all the more important, given the sometimes threatening position of finding themselves without familiar support systems, such as their home language and culture.

It would appear then that knowledge of various elements of the target culture, albeit on a purely intellectual level, should be the first step in developing an acquaintance with those beliefs, values, and behaviors which students already know. The next step should be a conscientious effort on the part of the IHE to ensure that prospective teachers are given the opportunity to observe and identify specific manifestations of the target culture. Using ethnographic procedures, Carrasco (1980, p. 154), for example, reports that "expanded awareness" of a LEP child's communicative competence and other positive social qualities resulted in positive changes in the teacher-student interaction in instructional strategies and expectations for students. These changes had the final result of improved student performance.

Observational Training

Although language training may be one of the principal differences between the preparation of bilingual and monolingual teachers, it is certainly not the only one. The SBIF descriptive study clearly points to the need for bilingual teachers to be trained in observational techniques, both at the micro and the macro levels. The study supports the notion that teachers should be prepared to observe and analyze active teaching with the eventual outcome of putting Academic Learning Time (ALT) into practice themselves. In the IHE setting, the first step is the use of videotapes that can be played and replayed for the purposes of analysis and discussion. Videotapes, such as those published by the Center for Applied Linguistics (Cahier & Kovac, 1981) would be an excellent start. Future teachers could watch such tapes and begin to identify and keep a record of instances of ALT (i.e., the time a student spends in a content area engaged in learning tasks with a high degree of accuracy). By the time the prospective teachers are ready for actual field experiences, they will have been exposed to some observational techniques which they can continue to develop.

The SBIF descriptive study stresses the idea that active participation by the students is essential, i.e., students under stand what the work requirements are, what the finished product must look like in terms of the teachers' expectations, and how one goes about completing the task. Prospective teachers, then, must learn techniques that promote this participation--first by observing and later by using teaching strategies where students are actually engaged in learning tasks with a high degree of accuracy.

While observation and analysis of micro contexts are essential, the macro context is equally important. Some researchers contend that studies that emphasize microcosmic rather than macrocosmic process give an incomplete picture of the educational process (Ogbu, 1974; Karabel & Halsey, 1977; Paulston, 1978). A balanced approach that brings together the two perspectives is advocated by Akinasso (1981). I would agree with this approach and would press for field work for prospective teachers that would provide them with observational skills not only for the classroom, but also for the larger school context in the community where the students live. I am encouraged that the SBIF descriptive study recognizes this important factor that ultimately affects the outcome of the school program.

It is vital that prospective teachers have access to successful school programs and to supportive communities as well as to those that are only marginally supportive of bilingual education. Prospective teachers should be exposed to the attitudes toward bilingual education held by the faculty, staff, and the administration. They should also have the opportunity to study the feelings of the community toward dual-language programs. Indeed, some writers (Paulston, 1978; Troike, 1978) contend that bilingual education programs are the direct result of factors that lie outside of the programs themselves. This view can and should be applied to all other school programs as well.

Although language development is discussed in detail in this volume (see Cummins, Paulston & Wong Fillmore), I would mention the notion that prospective teachers should be exposed to L1 and L2 development theories and practice as an indispensable part of their IHE training. They should also, however, recognize the fact that despite the SBIF descriptive study findings that strongly support L1 for instructional purposes that the quality and quantity of L1 use will remain largely in the political arena. For example, although both the Title VII and individual state guidelines support transitional, rather than maintenance, bilingual education (Troike, 1978), there are strong negative feelings against dual-language instruction. DeWind (1983) also reports strong, popular support for bilingual education, but says that this form of instruction remains emotionally charged and subject to the vicissitudes of the political climate. Future teachers, then, must be exposed to the basic structure of American education through which the school primarily derives its authority--the taxpayer.

The SBIF Descriptive Study as a Resource

The reports and the instrumentation produced by the SBIF descriptive study constitute a valuable and unique resource for teacher trainers and researchers. The literature reviews that set the stage for the study are sufficiently comprehensive in their own right to provide an in-depth view of effective instruction in monolingual and bilingual instructional settings. It is this strong research base in the established area of instruction that gives the study such strength in terms of its implications for bilingual education. Elements of effective instruction in monolingual education have been identified, and the study draws on this premise to show that effective instructional strategies are probably generic and are similar in monolingual and bilingual settings. The implications of this idea for teacher education, and for bilingual education specifically, are significant. Effective bilingual education instruction is essentially the same as effective all-English instruction, except that: teachers use both L1 and L2 for instruction;

teachers use strategies that integrate English language development with regular academic subject matter; and teachers respond to and use information from the students' home cultures. Bilingual education does, or should, promote basically the same objectives as monolingual education. As such, it should not be treated as an appendage, but rather as an integral part of the teacher preparation program and thereby as an essential constitutent of the regular school instructional program.

The protocols and case studies of the SBIF descriptive study are a significant contribution to the existing data concerning the effective implementation of dual-language instruction. The teacher comments and feelings about the bilingual education programs and the details they provide in dealing with LEP students on a day-to-day basis should be studied and analyzed by prospective teachers to determine those strategies and behaviors that contribute to student success in school. From a purely academic perspective, this information will give future teachers a background or, at the very least, a detailed account of what effective bilingual instruction is all about. Teacher trainers would do well to use the protocols and case studies to develop such instruments as pacing guides or lists of desirable behaviors or competencies they expect their future teachers to develop. I feel that this recommendation is particularly important. Although the field of bilingual education has lists of competencies for the preparation of teachers, such as those prepared by the Center for Applied Linguistics (1974) and the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Acosta & Blanco, 1978), these were prepared on the basis of opinions of educators involved in bilingual education and in bilingual teacher preparation. While these publications make recommendations that are supported by the findings of the SBIF descriptive study, the information which has been generated by the study provides empirical data about what constitutes effective instruction in a bilingual program. The impact of this information alone represents a significant contribution to the field.

Teacher Trainers

Throughout this paper, I have attempted to identify implications of the SBIF descriptive study for teacher education. Implicit in this discussion is the assumption that teacher educators are themselves prepared or knowledgeable enough to carry out training for effective instruction. The discussion regarding language training did point out some pitfalls which the IHE may encounter. In a similar vein, I should state that some IHE faculty may not feel comfortable with or know anything about concepts of effective instruction and specific research techniques such as ethnography. IHE faculty members are usually required, or at least strongly encouraged, to do a certain amount of research and publishing as part of their normal duties as a way of keeping current and as a way of informing their colleagues of recent research and other developments. Although reading the professional literature is a necessity for all educators, I feel that it is only one way, perhaps a first step, in becoming competent in those areas that the study has found to be essential for teachers--and by extension, for teacher educators.

Bilingual education is, and should be, a multi-disciplinary field, and the bilingual teacher preparation program should be a composite of knowledge and skills from a variety of fields. It would be overly simplistic and naive to make suggestions like team teaching across departmental lines or using faculty from one department to teach courses in another, in an effort to infuse the professional component with a multi-disciplinary perspective. The structure of most IHEs is so rigid that these arrangements are practically impossible. The responsibility of synthesizing the content of various disciplines as it relates to the classroom falls squarely on the shoulders of the education faculty.

It seems reasonable, then, that inservice programs or institutes such as those recommended for language training, would be one way to provide current IHE faculty members with the necessary specialized training. This training, I would add, should not be limited to individuals who are presently IHE faculty members, but could also include doctoral students. Until the IHE structure permits a freer interchange of its faculty among those programs that would benefit from such an arrangement, the external institute concept should be explored.

Summary

To date, the SBIF descriptive study is one of the most important pieces of research in bilingual education in the United States. There have been other studies to show the effectiveness of dual-language instruction. The approach, methodology and scope of this study, however, make it particularly noteworthy and its major findings have direct implications for all schools and for all teachers. By extension, the findings also hold importance for IHE teacher education programs, since these institutions play a central role in the educational structure. Preparation in multicultural education is definitely an important contribution in making teachers aware of the complex cultural and linguistic makeup of our nation. The study findings clearly indicate a basic change in how we prepare teachers to be effective in today's schools--LEP students are not a rarity and all teachers will sooner or later deal with these students. Language and cultural training for all teachers will go a long way in meeting the needs of LEP students. Specialized and advanced L1 training for bilingual education teachers is a necessity so that they can mediate instruction. Language training is necessarily a long-term proposition, and it should extend from preservice to inservice education.

Bilingual education upholds the premise that the learning of the English language is central to its purpose. The SBIF descriptive study supports this idea. It further provides valuable evidence to show that the LEP students' first language and culture are keys to developing the necessary proficiency in English.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY IN CONTEXT: CLASSROOM PARTICIPATION AS AN INTERACTIVE PROCESS

James Cummins

This paper focuses on the issue of how minority students' proficiency in English is related to their ability to participate competently in instruction in monolingual English classrooms. The question is usually posed in terms of how can we tell that a minority student has acquired sufficient English language proficiency to exit from a bilingual education program and survive in an all-English program. This question has spawned a variety of tests and procedures to assess whether or not students' English language proficiency meets pre-assigned criteria of exit from bilingual programs.

The central argument of the paper is that the exclusive focus on students' language proficiency is misguided insofar as it takes the instructional program for granted and ignores the fact that participation in academic activities is an interactive process. In other words, minority (and majority) students' ability to participate effectively in instruction is a function not only of their proficiency in English in some absolute sense, but also of the extent to which classroom learning activities are structured to facilitate student participation. In other words, much more proficiency in English is required to survive academically in some monolingual English classrooms than in others. The paper will attempt to complement the findings of the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) descriptive study by examining what we know from a variety of other sources about the instructional conditions that facilitate successful classroom participation and learning.

It is first necessary to put the research and policy issues in context. Initially it is emphasized that the entire entry and exit endeavor is fundamentally misguided and has no educational merit. Then some of the theoretical constructs that have been proposed to account for research findings in the area of bilingual education are briefly reviewed and their relevance to the "exit" issue discussed. The third section examines the evolution of policy considerations in regard to exit criteria, specifically the shift from undefined notions of "English language proficiency" to serious consideration of what is meant by "functional language proficiency." Then, an interactive framework for considering the notion of "competent participation" is outlined in the context of the SBIF descriptive study findings.

Finally, the relationship between competent academic participation and the construct of "Academic Learning Time" (ALT) is critically analyzed.

The Policy Context

The requirement to establish entry and exit criteria in transitional bilingual education programs evolved from an unfortunate combination of political compromise and demonstrably inadequate assumptions about the causes of minority students' underachievement.

Transitional programs attempt to steer between two diametrically opposed perceptions of linguistic and cultural diversity in the United States: on the one hand, diversity is viewed as a societal resource to be fostered, and on the other, as a threat to national unity. These opposing perceptions are illustrated in the following quotations:

> North American ethnolinguistic groups should be encouraged from as many sources as possible to maintain their dual heritage. . . . They are North America's richest human resource. . . . I don't think they will be able to be fully North American unless they are given every possibility of being fully French, Portuguese, Spanish, or whatever as well. (Lambert, 1975, pp. 79-80).

> Bilingual education is an idea that appeals to teachers of Spanish and other tongues, but also to those who never did think that another idea, the United States of America, was a particularly good one to begin with, and that the sooner it is restored to its component "ethnic" parts the better off we shall be. Such people have been welcomed with open arms into the upper reaches of the federal government in recent years, giving rise to the suspicion of a death wish. (Bethell, 1979, p. 30)

Thus, political acceptability (albeit tenuous at times) precluded any incorporation of "maintenance" goals in bilingual education programs. The educational rationale for bilingual education fitted neatly into these political constraints. It was assumed that minority students failed academically in English-only programs because they did not understand the language of instruction. The use of students' first language (L1) as a partial medium of instruction in the early grades was designed to overcome the language barrier and permit subject matter learning while proficiency in English was being acquired. After minority students had become proficient in English, L1 instruction was assumed to be no longer necessary.

This "linguistic mismatch" hypothesis upon which transitional bilingual education programs are based is demonstrably inadequate as a general theory insofar as it cannot explain the academic success of minority language students in L2 "immersion" programs (e.g., Swain & Lapkin, 1982) nor the fact that some groups of minority students perform well academically in spite of a home/school language switch (see Cummins, 1981). Also, linguistic factors alone cannot explain the school failure of some groups of minority students (see, e.g., Paulston, 1980). Thus, the establishment of non-English language background and limited English language proficiency as the sole entry criteria for bilingual education has little educational justification.

The establishment of exit criteria is just as arbitrary. In fact, there is considerable pressure to exit students from bilingual education programs as rapidly as possible. The fears of many policy makers and commentators that bilingual instruction will impede assimilation is often expressed in terms of concerns about students' acquisition of English in bilingual education programs. It appears counter-intuitive to many people to argue that L1 instruction will better promote English acquisition than exclusive use of English. If minority students are deficient in English, the argument goes, then surely what they need is as much English instruction as possible. It is easy to see how political concerns and skepticism about the function of L1 instruction have given rise to strong pressure to remove students from bilingual education programs as quickly as possible.

The legal requirement to adhere to entry and exit criteria in bilingual education programs leads many educators to assume that there is some educational justification for such criteria. In fact, there is none. The evidence from bilingual education program evaluations conducted throughout the United States and elsewhere shows clearly that students, regardless of initial language dominance, perform at least as well academically in a bilingual education program which strongly emphasizes the development of minority language proficiency, as equivalent students instructed entirely through the medium of the dominant or majority language (see Cummins, 1983, for a review). Thus, exit from a bilingual education program is, at best, educationally unnecessary, and may in fact limit minority students' development of L2 (as well as L1) literacy skills (Cummins, 1981; Troike, 1978).

The point I wish to emphasize at the outset is that the establishment of exit criteria from bilingual education programs may make some political sense, but it represents educational nonsense. There is in fact no educational justification for removing minority (or majority) students from programs which are developing bilingual and biliteracy skills. Thus, the discussion in the present paper of the levels of functional English language proficiency required to survive academically in all-English classrooms should not be taken as an implicit endorsement of the use of exit criteria to deprive minority students of the opportunity to develop biliteracy.

Theoretical Constructs

Four of the five theoretical constructs elaborated on in the California State Department of Education (1981, 1982a,b) theoretical framework for the education of language minority students are directly relevant to the exit issue. These are discussed briefly in turn.

Principle One: The Linguistic Threshold

This principle is based on research suggesting that bilingual students who develop high levels of proficiency in L1 and L2 experience some cognitive and academic advantages, whereas those whose proficiency in L1 and L2 remains relatively poorly developed experience reduced rates of cognitive and academic growth (Cummins, 1976, 1979). The principle is stated formally as follows:

> For bilingual students the degree to which proficiencies in both L1 and L2 are developed is positively associated with academic achievement. (California State Department of Education, 1982a, p. 7)

The relevance of the threshold hypothesis in the present context is that it introduced the notion of a "threshold" or minimum level of linguistic proficiency which students had to attain in order to benefit from instruction in that language. The issue of this linguistic threshold is essentially the same issue of what the exit criterion should be.

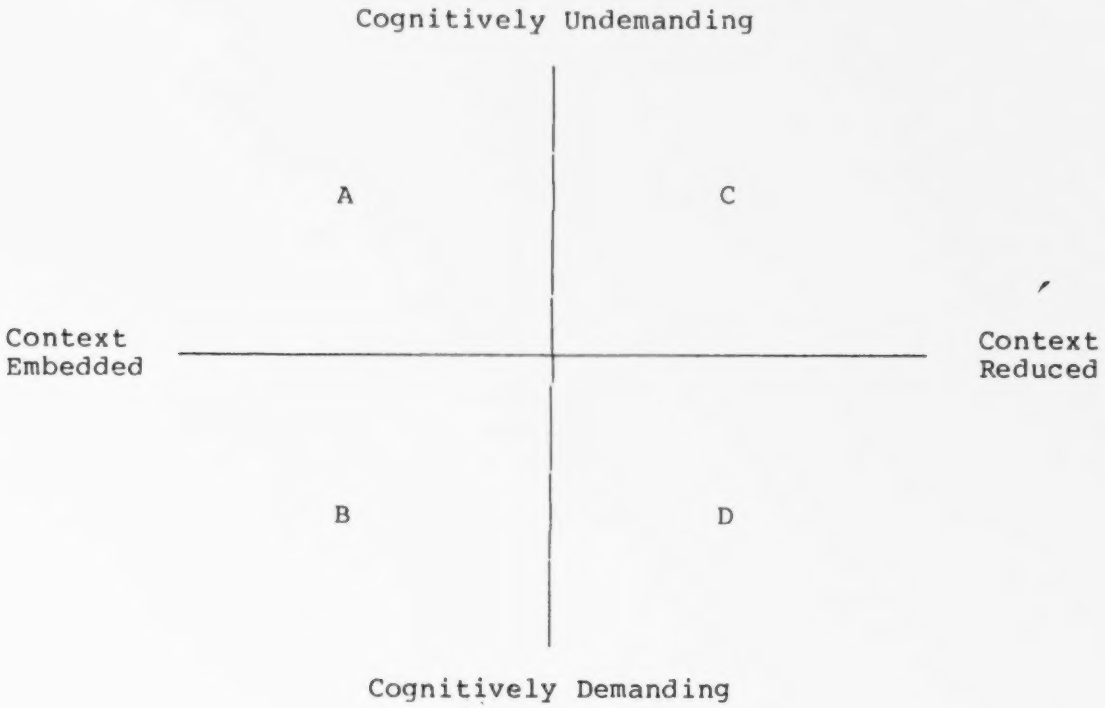
The threshold hypothesis itself did not provide much direction in this regard. However, building on the research of Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) in Scandinavia, a distinction was introduced between "surface fluency" in a language and "conceptual-linguistic knowledge," and it was suggested that the threshold was more likely to involve the latter than the former (Cummins, 1979). This distinction was elaborated on in subsequent papers with more direct reference to exit criteria.

Principle Two: The Dimensions of Language Proficiency

The initial distinction between "surface" and "conceptual" aspects of language proficiency was reformulated in terms of "basic interpersonal communicative skills" (BICS) and "cognitive-academic language proficiency" (CALP). Considerable research was available to show that peer-appropriate L2 face-to-face communicative skills did not imply commensurate age-appropriate proficiency in L2 literacy related skills (e.g., Cummins 1980) and the CALP-BICS distinction was used to illustrate the fallacy of identifying "English language proficiency" with BICS and consequently exiting minority students from bilingual programs on the basis of adequate surface structure control. It was suggested that the presence of adequate surface structure led educators to eliminate "lack of English language proficiency" as an explanatory variable with the result that low academic performance among exited minority students was attributed to deficient cognitive abilities or personality traits (e.g., laziness) (Cummins, 1980, 1981).

The CALP-BICS distinction was later expanded into a model (Figure 3) designed to allow language proficiency to be related to academic achievement.

Figure 3. Range of contextual support and degree of cognitive involvement in communicative activities.



The theoretical principle embodied in this model is stated formally as follows:

> Language proficiency is the ability to use language for both academic purposes and basic communicative tasks. (California State Department of Education, 1982a, p. 9)

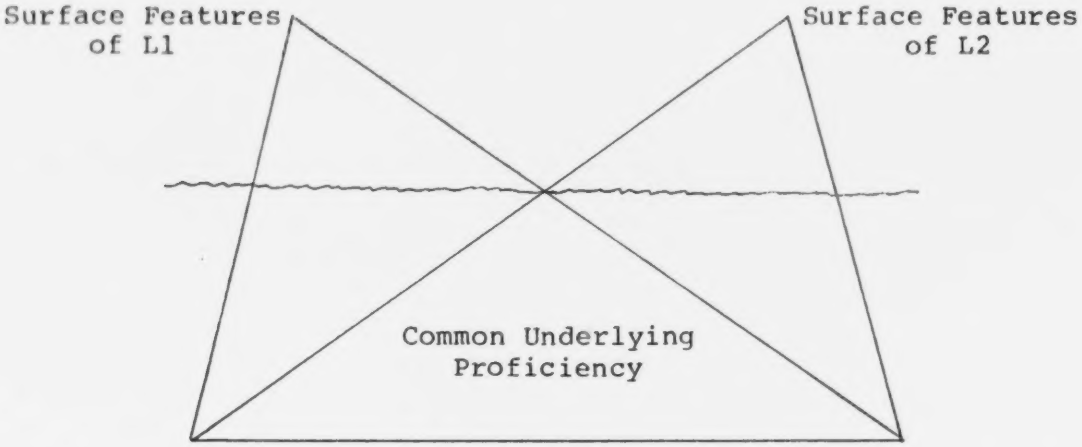
Research (Cummins, 1981) showing that it takes language minority students considerably longer (approximately 5-7 years on the average) to attain grade norms in English academic skills (i.e., context-reduced, cognitively demanding) than it does to attain peer-appropriate English communicative (context-embedded) skills (about 2 years) was used to support the distinctions in the model.

It is easy to see how these distinctions were consistent with the introduction in California of academic achievement test performance as an exit criterion. A better understanding of the nature of bilingualism and the consequences of bilingual education has also contributed to changing the attitudes of educators in some contexts toward a "quick-exit" policy.

Principle Three: The Common Underlying Proficiency

Considerable research points to a strong relationship between L1 and L2 academic skills. These data led to the hypothesis that L1 and L2 cognitive/academic proficiencies are interdependent or manifestations of a common underlying proficiency. The "dual-iceberg" diagram (Figure 4) represents this theoretical principle.

Figure 4. The "dual-iceberg" representation of bilingual proficiency.



The principle has been stated formally as follows:

> For language minority students the development of the primary language skills necessary to complete academic tasks forms the basis for similar proficiency in English. (California State Department of Education, 1982a, p. 11)

There is almost universal research support (e.g., Cummins, 1983) for the implication of this principle that language minority students will progress at least as well academically in English as a result of continuing in a bilingual education program rather than exiting rapidly into an all-English program.

In fact, premature exit to an all-English classroom entails considerable dangers even for students who are fully bilingual. This is illustrated by Moll and his colleagues' microethnographic study of reading instruction in Spanish and English in the context of a team-taught maintenance bilingual program (Moll, 1981). A considerable emphasis on higher-level comprehension-oriented literacy activities (e.g., inferring from the text, analyzing content, writing book reports, etc.) was observed among the high ability reading group in the Spanish lesson. In the English classroom, on the other hand, students were

> made to focus primarily on the mechanical tasks of practicing decoding skills, word sounds or lexical meaning. Practically absent are key activities that promote reading comprehension and help the students learn how to communicate their knowledge of content. (Moll, 1981, p. 439)

Moll suggests that a likely source of the problem is that the English teacher was confounding pronunciation and decoding problems.

> The teacher seems to be assuming that decoding is a prerequisite to comprehension and that correct pronunciation is the best index of decoding. The implicit theory guiding instruction is that correct pronunciation (decoding) must precede comprehension (cf., Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1979). Consequently, the teacher organizes the lessons to provide the children with the necessary time on the task to help them practice pronunciation, phonics, and other aspects of language learning such as lexical meaning. In so doing, higher order (comprehension) reading skills are structured out of the lessons' interactions. (Moll, 1980, p. 440)

These findings illustrate how bilingual instruction can develop academic skills which have the potential for transfer to L2. However, it is crucial to know what minority children can do in their L1 so that appropriate opportunities for transfer can be provided. The study also illustrates the likelihood of underestimating what minority students are capable of academically when they are exited rapidly to an all-English classroom, and as a result, are exposed to qualitatively inappropriate instruction.

Principle Four: Second Language Acquisition

Although this principle focuses primarily on the acquisition of L2 communicative skills, it is equally applicable to the acquisition of academic skills (whether L1 or L2). Initially a distinction is made between L2 acquisition and L2 learning (Krashen, 1981), the former involving a subconscious process similar to early L1 acquisition, the latter a conscious attempt to know the language including its grammatical rules and structures. Considerable research data suggest that communicative L2 skills are more effectively developed in an instructional context that emphasized the communication of meaningful messages which are intrinsically interesting to students. Although there is a place for some formal teaching of the L2 itself (i.e., "learning" activities) in a bilingual education program, this principle emphasized that the pedagogical emphasis must be on providing students with comprehensible input in L2. Such input has three major characteristics:

1. It should contain some language (structures and lexical items) already known to the student together with language which is not already known but which can be understood through context (e.g., concrete referents, situation), paralinguistic clues (e.g., facial expressions), linguistic modifications (e.g. intonation, paraphrasing, simplification, slower speech etc.), as well as students' knowledge of the topic (e.g., previously acquired subject matter knowledge in L1).

2. The messages communicated to the students must be intrinsically interesting so that students are encouraged to persist in negotiating meaning.

3. Grammatical sequencing of the input is unnecessary since the focus on meaningful messages will ensure that the appropriate grammatical structures are included in the comprehensible input.

Krashen (1981) emphasizes that although comprehensible input is a necessary condition for L2 acquisition, it is not sufficient by itself. Students' "affective filters" may reduce the flow of input that becomes available for processing as well as impede students' production of language. Included in the "affective filter" are factors such as anxiety, motivation and self-confidence or self-esteem, all of which have been shown to be related to second language acquisition.

The fourth principle is stated formally as follows:

> Acquisition of basic communicative competency in a second language is a function of comprehensible second language input and a supportive affective environment. (California State Department of Education, 1982a, p. 13)

Although the point is not strongly emphasized in the California theoretical framework, essentially the same principles apply equally to the acquisition of academic skills in L2. When students cannot make sense of the instruction (either because the medium or the message is incomprehensible) or when they lack the academic self-confidence to apply themselves to understand the content being communicated, then their academic development will clearly be impaired. Conversely, when the instruction is such that students can understand the academic message and participate effectively ("negotiate meaning" in Gordon Wells' [1981] phrase) in classroom learning activities, then academic development will be promoted. The point is similar to that emphasized in recent discussions of "academic learning time" (Tikunoff, 1982) or "time on task" where academic growth is conceived as a direct function of the amount of academic information processing the student engages in. The academic input will be processed (and consequently acquired) only when it is comprehensible.

The relevance of this principle to exit considerations derives from the fact that instruction in an all-English classroom after exit may be less comprehensible to minority students than bilingual instruction. This situation could arise for a variety of reasons. First, as suggested earlier, students may not have sufficient cognitive/academic proficiency in English to profit fully from instruction despite conversational fluency in English; conversely, as Moll's (1981) study illustrates, teachers may undersetimate students' L1 academic knowledge when this has been strongly promoted in a bilingual program, and as a result, expose them to English academic instruction which is neither challenging nor interesting. In other words, teachers in English-only classrooms may not realize the relevance of minority students' L1 cognitive/academic knowledge in making L2 cognitive/academic input comprehensible.

In summary,the principles developed in the California State Department Theoretical Framework are of obvious relevance to the consideration of exit criteria. However, it is also clear that they do not provide any instant solutions as to what the exit threshold is. To what extent do the SBIF findings help elucidate this issue? In the next section the SBIF findings are considered in the context of the evolution of theory and policy related to exit criteria.

Evolution of Policy and Theory Related to Exit Criteria

Four overlapping phases can be distinguished in the consideration by educators of when minority students have sufficient proficiency in English to participate successfully in all-English instruction. These phases do not represent evolution in actual practice since the first phase is still predominant in most bilingual programs across the county. The evolution is rather in terms of academic consideration of the exit issue and it thus represents a potential evolution in practice. The four phases are as follows:

1. Under pressure to exit students rapidly, "English language proficiency" is essentially unanalyzed and implicitly viewed as ability to converse in English in face-to-face situations;
2. The distinction between acquiring peer-appropriate conversational fluency and achievement of age-appropriate English academic skills is recognized and performance on standardized achievement tests is introduced as an exit criterion (e.g., approximately mid-thirties percentile range in California)
3. Dissatisfaction with standardized tests as measures of "language proficiency" as well as the arbitrariness of any "norm-referenced" criterion leads researchers to focus on developing measures of "functional language proficiency" that would assess the kinds of functional language skills required to perform academic tasks;
4. The fourth phase is implicit in phases 2 and 3 and is elaborated in the present paper. The central point is that the exclusive focus on students' language proficiency is misguided insofar as it takes the instructional program for granted and ignores the fact that participation in academic activities is an interactive process. In concrete terms, much more "English language proficiency" is required for the LEP student to survive academically in some all-English classrooms than in others.

Each of these phases is considered briefly in turn.

English Language Proficiency as Conversation

As pointed our earlier, the implicit assumption of many educators involved with bilingual education programs has been that "English language proficiency" is relatively homogeneous and is adequately represented by students' conversational fluency and control of basic phonology, syntax, and vocabulary. As Wong Fillmore (1982) points out, this view of language proficiency is paralleled by Oller's (1980) theory (now revised, see Oller 1983) that language proficiency is a unitary dimension. Wong Fillmore points to the implications of this assumption which underlies most language tests that have been used for exit criteria:

> Nearly all of the tests assume that when one learns a language, the levels of development throughout the system being learned are more or less equivalent. Hence a sampling of any part of the system will reveal the state of the whole. Such tests also assume that the linguistic skills being measured are general, rather than functionally specialized. Thus, the demonstration of language skills in a test performance will predict how well the student will be able to function in any other activity carried out in the language, independently of whether it is an academic activity or one that is strictly social. (Wong Fillmore, 1982, p. 145)

There is considerable evidence against this unitary notion of language proficiency (e.g., Canale & Swain, 1980; Cummins, 1980), and no theorist currently advocates such a view. Not surprisingly, the implementation in practice of this faulty theoretical position has been problematic. In Wong Fillmore's words:

> Educators do not find the available tests working well enough for their purposes. Many LEP students who perform well on the tests may not know English well enough to handle instructional activities conducted in English. This is especially apparent with language tests used to predict whether students will be able to handle reading instruction in English. The skills and knowledge tested may represent only a tiny part of the linguistic skills and knowledge needed for literacy development or for the comprehension of text materials. (1982, p. 145)

These same considerations contributed to the theoretical distinction that was made between BICS and CALP (Cummins, 1980) and led some educators and policy makers to consider what alternatives existed to exclusive reliance on tests of language dominance and/or teacher subjective judgments.

The Academic Connection

This phase involved the incorporation of standardized academic test performance as one of the criteria for exit to an all-English program. Only in California has this type of exit criterion been implemented. The logic underlying this requirement was expressed by Cummins (1980). The fact that for language minority students, L2 BICS appeared to predict L2 CALP (i.e., L2 academic performance) no better than L1 BICS predicted L1 CALP (for any group of students) implied that:

> If school districts are required to mainstream, then the most logical criterion of ability to benefit from English instruction is performance on a standardized measure of English academic (CALP) skills, since these are universally used in the United States to assess educational performance. In other words, because standardized tests of English CALP are the criterion measures, the predictor measures should also assess English CALP. (Cummins, 1980, p. 43)

It was also pointed out on the basis of the Common Underlying Proficiency notion that quicker exit could be achieved by using measures of L1 CALP as predictor or exit criteria variables. This procedure might be more palatable to advocates of a quick-exit policy because of the fact that considerable data suggested that LEP students required, on the average, at least five years of English academic development to attain grade norms.

The incorporation of academic aspects of English language proficiency as exit criteria in California represented one of the first policy steps towards recognizing the complexity of the relationships between language proficiency and academic achievement. However, the use of a norm-referenced criterion involves logical problems. In addition to the questionable appropriateness of using standardized tests for any purpose with language minority students, there is a clear arbitrariness in deciding on any particular percentile level (e.g., 36th) as *the* threshold or criterion necessary to profit from all-English instruction. Logically, what is required is an empirically validated, criterion-referenced measure of the extent to which LEP students' English language proficiency is sufficient to handle the instructional demands of an all-English classroom. The inclusion of academic language skills as part of what constitutes English language proficiency is an important advance but the use of a norm-referenced criterion is essentially a stopgap measure that does not eliminate the need to find a criterion-referenced measure. Two recent large-scale studies (Tikunoff, 1983; Wong Fillmore, 1982) funded under the U.S. Department of Education's Part C Bilingual Education Research Agenda have made considerable progress in this regard.

Functional Language Proficiency and Competent Participation

An important conclusion to emerge from the SBIF study is that measures of English language proficiency alone are likely to be insufficient to determine when a student is ready to transfer to an English-only instructional setting. Proficient functioning in classroom activities requires that the student:

> (a) be able to decode/understand task demands, new information, and teachers' norms/expectations; (b) be able to communicate successfully with the teacher and others in the class; and (c) be able to participate competently in instructional tasks, achieving reasonably high ALT (academic learning time). (Tikunoff, 1982, pp. 18-19)

Tikunoff points out that proficiency in oral English is simply not a good indicator of the extent to which students are able to participate competently in all-English instructional settings. A much better measure is likely to be the extent to which students are observed to be functioning proficiently (in terms of the three components outlined above) in instructional settings where there is potential access to clarification of teachers' instructional intent through the use of L1.

What this implies in practical terms is that observational checklists of student participation characteristics might be developed to replace or at least supplement measures of English language proficiency and academic achievement for purposes of reclassification and exit. Such a checklist could be developed on the basis of both the SBIF study and other relevant databases (e.g., Wong Fillmore, this volume) and teachers and other resource personnel trained to become sensitive to critical indicators of students' task involvement.

That teachers may be misled by less important but more salient features of student behavior is illustrated in a recent study by Saville-Troike (1983). Saville-Troike observed 19 middle-class elementary school ESL students from a variety of language groups at regular intervals during their first year of acquiring English. She observed very little correlation between the time students spent using English (as opposed to L1) and their academic achievement in English. Accuracy in English morphology and syntax was unrelated to achievement (although range of English vocabulary used by students was significantly correlated with achievement) and some of the most successful social communicators in English made the least progress academically in English. In fact, three of the five children who scored highest in English reading and content tested through English tended to use their L1 rather than English in carrying out assigned academic tasks (e.g., for self-verbalization, discussion of tasks with other children or with a bilingual adult). It is clear from these data that teachers' tendency to view English oral communicative skills as the major criterion of readiness for transfer to monolingual instruction can be very misguided.

It is worth summarizing Saville-Troike's conclusions because of their compatibility with the general conclusions of the SBIF study and with theoretical distinctions proposed on the basis of other data (e.g., Cummins, 1981; Wong Fillmore, 1982):

1. We cannot depend on social interaction alone to develop English language skills.
2. There is a qualitative difference between the communicative tactics and skills children find effective in meeting social needs and goals and those that are necessary for successful classroom participation and achievement.
3. ESL instruction which focuses on structural patterns (e.g., English morphology) appears to have little applicability to students' academic needs.[1] In order to develop context-reduced academic skills ESL instruction should focus on writing and vocabulary learning rather than on grammar and pronunciation.
4. Most of the students who achieved best in English and content areas were those that had the opportunity to discuss the concepts they were learning in their L1 with other children or adults.

The major implication of these findings together with those of the SBIF study in the present context is that the notion of competent participation involves much more than oral communicative skills (BICS) and, in fact, communicative skills can be quite a misleading indicator. Although the SBIF data provide valuable insights into some of the components of participation, further research is required to more clearly define the notion and validate any observational checklist that might be developed.

Clearly, English language proficiency in some sense of the term is a necessary but not sufficient condition for successful classroom involvement in monolingual English instruction. It is also clear that more than just oral communicative aspects of

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[1] Five of the six top academic achievers at the end of the year still systematically omitted plurals, articles, and tense markers in spoken English whereas several of the lowest academic achievers had a much better command of English morphology.

English language proficiency are required. The research currently being carried out by Wong Fillmore and her colleagues is exploring the nature of the functional language skills required for school participation. Tests have been developed to assess written and oral language comprehension and production on the basis of a sophisticated analysis of the cognitive and linguistic demands made by each of these tasks in school contexts. Written language comprehension (i.e. reading) has been assessed in this project by interviewing students as they process text clause by clause, thus developing "a finely drawn profile of what each student knows and understands of the text" (Wong Fillmore, 1982, p. 148). Written language production tasks requiring students to write short narrative and expository texts were similarly devised on the basis of an analysis of school written assignments and teacher evaluations of these assignments.

An intensive analysis of the language used in classrooms formed the basis for a test of the oral language production and comprehension skills required for successful classroom participation (see Wong Fillmore, 1982). The two versions of the test ("The Shell Game" and "The Rock Game") assess all the language functions used in the classroom lessons that were analyzed and take the form of a science lesson in which the student is taught some information (by tape recorder with which the student interacts) in a format that is similar to real classroom lessons. At present this test is too cumbersome for general use but it (and the other measures developed by the project) represent an important step towards an assessment of LEP students' English language skills in that it takes account of the complex nature of the functional proficiency required for effective classroom participation. Together with the kind of observational checklist implied by the SBIF data, these measures are likely to provide a powerful tool for meaningful reclassification as "English language proficient."

Although the developments in this third phase represent a tremendous advance in terms of acknowledging, conceptualizing, and assessing students' functional language proficiency, the emphasis is still on assessing the students' ability to participate competently in classroom instruction. In the next section a shift of emphasis is proposed such that reclassification and exit are conceived not just as a function of student characteristics but rather as an interactive function of student characteristics and the kinds of classrooms within which they are expected to participate.

Proficiency and Instruction as Interactive Determinants of Classroom Participation

Few practitioners or researchers would dispute the assertion that it is much easier for LEP students to survive educationally in some monolingual classes than in others, or put differently, that monolingual English instruction varies in the extent to which it permits and facilitates LEP student participation. Although not controversial, the implications of this fact have not generally been realized in the debate on exit criteria.

Several theorists have discussed the modifications that are required to make L2 input "comprehensible" to LEP students, thereby facilitating classroom participation (e.g., Cummins, 1981; Krashen, 1981; Wong Fillmore, this volume). Krashen has termed the resulting instruction "sheltered-English instruction" and its general characteristics are outlined as follows by the California State Department of Education:

> The subject matter and the delivery of the lessons is done using as many extra-linguistic clues and modifications as possible. Teachers change their speech register by slowing down, limiting their vocabulary and sentence length, by repeating, emphasizing, and explaining key concepts, and by using examples, props, visual clues and body language to convey and reinforce meaning. (1982b, p. 1)

In terms of the distinctions outlined in Figure 3, these modifications in the linguistic input to LEP students serve to make the instruction considerably more "context-embedded." As a general principle of both language and literacy instruction, it has been proposed that the more initial instruction is embedded in a meaningful communicative context (e.g., related to the student's previous experience), the more comprehensible and, consequently, successful it is likely to be (Cummins, 1981; Krashen, 1981; Smith, 1978).

The relevance of this in the present context is that the more linguistic, paralinguistic, contextual and experiential clues to meaning contained in the instruction, the less language proficiency is required to understand the instruction and participate effectively in academic learning. The examples provided by Wong Fillmore (this volume) illustrate the point very clearly. Thus, just as important for determining reclassification and exit criteria as students' absolute levels of English language proficiency is the degree of "context-embeddedness" of the all-English classroom in which they are expected to participate. In principle, LEP students could be exited earlier into "sheltered English" classes than into mainstream classes in which there is little emphasis on providing extra contextual support for the language input. A considerable amount of research data suggests that on the average, five to seven years of English acquisition in school contexts may be required before minority students' functional English proficiency is equivalent to that of their monolingual peers. The importance of a "sheltered English" or "context-embedded" approach to language and literacy instruction for minority students with intermediate levels of English language proficiency can be appreciated in light of the fact that few school districts are willing to tolerate more than two to three years of bilingual instruction and thus many students are being exited before they have attained sufficient functional English language proficiency to participate successfully in mainstream classes.

Two types of factors that contribute to the context-embeddedness or comprehensibility of instruction can be distinguished. These are termed external and internal context, respectively. External context refers to aspects of language activities or tasks that are more or less objectively specifiable along the embedded/reduced continuum. Internal contextual factors, on the other hand, refer to aspects of the individual's experience that can be specified only on the basis of knowledge of that experience.

External contextual criteria. Three aspects of the way in which linguistic messages are realized are proposed as external contextual criteria:

1. Redundancy/density of the linguistic realization--the more repetition and reinforcement of the message (e.g., through paralinguistic cues) the more context-embedded the task.

2. Simplicity/complexity of the linguistic forms--the more simple the lexical content (e.g., in terms of word frequency) and syntactic structures), the more context-embedded the task.

3. Concreteness/abstractness of the linguistic content--concrete information is capable of being represented in other than linguistic modes, e.g., visual, tactile or kinesthetic, whereas abstract concepts or information are much less readily represented in non-linguistic or non-symbolic modes. The more concrete the information communicated, the more context-embedded the task.

Internal contextual criteria. Three overlapping sets of criteria can be distinguished:

1. The extent to which the instructional content is meaningful to the student, i.e., capable of being integrated with already existing knowledge or, in Piagetian terms, cognitive schemata (e.g., L1 conceptual knowledge).

2. The extent to which the instructional content is intrinsically interesting to the student.

3. The extent to which the mode of instruction and classroom organization is congruent with students' pre-school interactional experience (Donaldson, 1978; Wells, 1981),

> their culturally determined participant structures (Au & Jordan, 1981; Philips, 1972) and individual learning styles (Wong Fillmore, 1979). Considerable research has demonstrated that mismatches between students' ways of participating in learning activities outside school and those required in traditional classrooms can impede academic development.

These internal contextual criteria overlap in many respects with the ways that bilingual teachers in the SBIF study were observed to mediate instruction for LEP students. In particular, successful teachers tended to integrate language with a variety of meaningful academic activities rather than teaching it in isolation and they also responded to and used cultural information during instruction. In particular, they built upon participant structures from the home culture in organizing instructional activities and were sensitive to the values and norms of the home culture.

It is not being suggested here that instructional language should always be concrete, simple, and embody considerable redundancy, nor that students should not be exposed to and expected to acquire "mainstream" participant structures; rather, the point is that teachers should continuously tune their instruction to the level of context-embeddedness appropriate to students' language proficiency and background experiences. As students' language proficiency increases and their conceptual knowledge expands, the instructional language can become more complex and the content more abstract while still remaining comprehensible.

Competent Participation and Academic Learning Time (ALT)

In the previous section it was argued that LEP student participation in the instructional process depends both on students' functional language proficiency (comprising an amalgam of academic, cognitive and linguistic skills) and the degree of instructional context-embeddedness; several characteristics of instructional context-embeddedness were proposed. In this section the relationship between instructional context-embeddedness and ALT is examined in order to further clarify the nature of appropriate instruction for LEP students.

In the SBIF study, ALT represented the major objective index of student participation. ALT is defined as the amount of time a student spends in a particular content area engaged in learning tasks with a high degree of accuracy (Tikunoff, 1982). Students' accumulation of ALT is regarded as a sensitive index of how effective the instruction is. By this criterion, the bilingual teachers in the SBIF sample appear highly effective.

In this section some cautions are expressed regarding the interpretation of ALT. Specifically, it is argued that ALT may be a necessary condition for inferring effective instruction but it is not a sufficient condition. Thus, some forms of inappropriate or less appropriate instruction may nonetheless result in high student ALT. In particular, the focus on *quantity* of academic information processing engaged in by students may divert attention away from both the kinds of academic tasks students are expected to engage in and from the types of cognitive processes required for successful completion of these tasks. In other words, the *quality* of student's academic information processing may be forgotten in the effort to increase ALT as much as possible by means of active teaching behaviors. To illustrate the point: students may accumulate high ALT by doing ditto sheet exercises *ad nauseum* spurred on by extrinsic reinforcement (either punishment or reward). However, such an instructional emphasis would not be regarded as particularly effective because of its focus only on lower levels of cognitive processing (e.g., knowledge, comprehension, and application in terms of Bloom's taxonomy) and its reliance on extrinsic forms of motivation which will not generalize to out-of-school contexts (see e.g., Donaldson, 1978).

The point is simply that there is more to effective instruction than just ALT. Classroom participation and the development of both functional language proficiency and academic competence will be facilitated by the presentation to students of tasks that they find intrinsically interesting and which involve the higher level cognitive processes of analysis, synthesis, and evaluation of information rather than just the accumulation and application of isolated facts. This issue is analyzed further in Cummins (in press).

In short, although ALT is clearly an important indicator of student academic participation it should not be regarded as a sufficient criterion of effective instruction.

Conclusion

The major point that has been argued in this paper is that in deciding on students' ability to function competently in monolingual English instructional programs, an exclusive focus on language proficiency is misguided because it takes the instructional program for granted. In fact, the way in which teachers present English instruction to minority students is just as important for students' ability to participate competently as is students' English language proficiency. Thus, it is not sufficient for educators to become more sensitive only to indices of LEP students' emerging English language proficiency; they must also become sensitive to the constraints that unmodified English instruction places on students' ability to manifest their proficiency and function competently in academic contexts. Therefore reclassification and exit procedures should have a dual focus: First, on students' level of functional academic language proficiency; and second, on the degree and kinds of instructional modifications that will be required for the student to participate competently in monolingual English academic learning.

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